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## THE CELTIC MONASTERIES.

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UNTIL Dr. Reeves broke ground with his Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, in 1857, the peculiar character and composition of Celtic monasteries was hardly understood. Since then some important contributions have been made to the study, notably that of Mr. Willis Bund in his *Celtic Church in Wales*, 1897. In this paper it is my object to give a clear view—as clear as can be obtained from the documents accessible—of these monastic societies from which radiated the Christianity of Ireland, Wales, Scotland, the Dumnonian peninsula of Devon and Cornwall, and Armorica.

Wherever we see Celtic Christianity at work, where unfettered by Latin restraints and unaltered by Latin influence, there we find that the nucleus was always a monastery. But the monastery was something very different from that of which we obtain ideas from such institutions in the Latin Church, after the great work of St. Benedict had given to western monachism its definite form by impressing on it the stamp of Roman organisation.

If then we would know what was Celtic Christianity, we must look to the Celtic monasteries, whence issued all the instruction in the faith, and system of religious life, that were given to the people. I cannot for a moment doubt that the Celtic monks entered simply into the empty shells of the Druidic organisations, which they

found ready to hand. Druidism was effete, and ready to vacate its place with little struggle, and the moulds of ecclesiastical form that had been occupied by the Druids were found by the Christian missionaries to be admirably adapted for their own occupation, and required but little adjustment and alteration. This was, doubtless, the condition at first; but we know that it lasted for only about a century in Ireland, after which the monastery assumed a somewhat different complexion. In Wales, whence Ireland drew its Christianity in large draughts, almost certainly the condition of the monastic establishments was like the first state of the Irish, but lasting for a very much larger period of time. I may be allowed to enter at some—I hope not unnecessary—length into the constitution of the Druid and cognate associations, and I shall be able to show that the Celtic monasteries were at first the same, only with some change, and that change consisted in the religious instruction given in them, and with the substitution of Christian worship for that which was pagan. In every other particular there was no change at all.

All we know of the Druids we derive from two sources: the classic Greek and Latin authors, and the early Irish writers. We will take each, and show how precisely similar is the picture drawn by each of the pagan ecclesiastical organisations. The Druids are mentioned by eighteen classic writers; but some of these evidently report only the vaguest hearsay, and others repeat almost in so many words what other of these writers, and those earlier in date, had already said.<sup>1</sup> I will quote only the most important testimonies. According to Theagenes, the hierarchy among the Gauls consisted of Bards, Eubages, and Druids, and to them

<sup>1</sup> Præ-Christian authors, Aristotle and Sotion quoted by Diogenes Laertius, Posidonius, Julius Cæsar, Cicero, Diodorus Siculus and Theagenes, of whom Ammianus Marcellinus has preserved a fragment to the point. Post-Christian era writers: Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Lucan, Pliny the Naturalist, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion, Chrysostom, Clement of Alexandria, and St. Cyril.

the barbarian Gauls owed their civilisation. "The Bards were accustomed to employ themselves in celebrating the brave achievements of their illustrious men in epic verse, accompanied with sweet music on the lyre. The Eubages investigated the system and sublime secrets of Nature, and sought to explain them to their followers. Between these two came the Druids, men of loftier genius, bound in brotherhoods . . . and their minds were elevated by investigations into secret and sublime matters ; and from the contempt which they entertained for human affairs, they pronounced the soul immortal."<sup>1</sup> Theagenes accordingly shows us a triple order in the hierarchy of the Druids living in confraternities, "sodaliciis adstricti consortiis."

According to Cæsar, it was the tradition in Gaul that the institution of Druids was of Britannic origin. These Druids went to Britain to finish their studies. The Druids formed a class apart from the rest in the nation, and recruited itself. None of the functions were hereditary. The supreme head of the institution was elected. Cæsar speaks of the Druids only, not of the Bards and Eubages, and he calls the Druids "sacerdotes;" they, however, had under them not only the religious teaching and conduct of worship, but also intervened as judges. They were invested with high prerogatives, and were exempt from bearing arms and from all charges ; consequently these privileges drew to them a crowd of disciples, who either came to their schools of their own accord, or were sent to them by their parents. Their duties exacted of them lengthy studies. The instruction consisted in teaching the pupils to acquire by heart a great number of verses, and it was sometimes protracted through twenty years.<sup>2</sup>

Diodorus, almost certainly drawing his information from Posidonius, who had visited Britain, also divides the Gaulish priesthood into three classes : the Bards, Diviners, and Druids. He says : "The Gauls are

<sup>1</sup> *Amm. Marc.*, xv, 8. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *De Bel. Gallico*, vi, 13.

intelligent and capable of instruction. They have poets whom they call Bards, and who sing praise and blame, accompanying themselves on instruments like lyres; they have philosophers and theologians highly honoured, who are called Druids. They have also Diviners, who are held in great veneration.<sup>1</sup> Strabo says much the same thing,<sup>2</sup> mentioning the three classes.

There were, as well, colleges of priestesses or prophetesses, some doomed to a celibate life, others, however, married, but only visiting their husbands at long intervals. Most of these female communities lived in islets. At Sæna was the celebrated oracle of nine virgins. None might consult them who were not sailors, and they must cross to the island with the sole object of inquiring of them as to the future. They prophesied, but they also raised storms.<sup>3</sup> The priestesses of the Nanneti occupied an islet in the Loire. On a certain day in the year, they were bound to pull down and reconstruct the roof of their temple. If by chance one of them let fall any sacred object, her companions rushed on her with hideous cries, tore her limb from limb, and then scattered her blood-stained flesh about the island.

Now look at what we learn from the early Irish writers. There also the educational and ecclesiastical hierarchy was composed of the "fileadh" or Bards, the Druids, and the Brehons, or law propounders. The "fili," or poet, had to recite the ancient poems in honour of the heroic deeds of the ancestors of the race; to preserve historical records; and to belaud those who favoured them, or satirise those who incurred their anger. They were often moving about the country in great peripatetic schools, and were such a nuisance, that on several occasions, the princes of Ireland endeavoured to curb their licence and restrict their numbers.

The Druids had as their function to bless the arms and undertakings of the chiefs and kings, and to curse

<sup>1</sup> *Diod. Sicul.*, v, 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo*, iv, 4, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Pomp. Mela*, iii, 6.

their enemies, and educate the young of the tribe. The office of the Brehons was to preserve the law and state the amount of *eric*, or fine, every transgression entailed. We have not more than stray allusions to the Druids, and know little from Irish sources of their organisation, because they rapidly disappeared as they were supplanted by Christian monks; but the Bards were not thus effaced, and we can hardly doubt that the organisation of the Druids was very similar.

"The Poet, and the Druid, according to Seanchan, when attached to the court of the king or chief, had his pupils about him, and taught and lectured them wherever he found it convenient, often within-doors, but often in the open air; and when he travelled through the territory, or from one territory to another, his pupils accompanied him, still receiving his instructions. When, however, they exceeded the number which he was entitled by law to have accommodated as his own company at a respectable house, the excess was almost always freely entertained by the neighbours in the locality.

"The Druid, in his simple character, does not appear to have been ambulatory but stationary."<sup>1</sup>

In the reign of Conor Mac Ness, King of Ulster, there was such a rush of the Irish into the schools of the Poets and Ollamhs, or Professors, that it was found a third of the people were to be discovered claiming on that plea exemption from taxation and from military service. The producing class found the weight intolerable, and the complaints became so loud and threatening throughout the east, west, and south of Erinn, that the professional Fileadh met to take measures for their safety, and thought of flying into Alba till the storm had abated. However, Conor Mac Ness, with the consent of his people, invited them to Ulster, and there the legion of bards and professors were hospitably entertained for the space of seven years.

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Irish*, ii, p. 49.

On two subsequent occasions the bards were again menaced, and had to take refuge among the Ultonians in 622 and 646; but they were most severely threatened at a still earlier period in the reign of Aed Mac Ainmire (568-594).

It was their habit, whilst travelling in gangs of thirty through the country, to carry with them a silver pot hung by nine bronze chains, which was suspended at the end of nine rods or spears. When a chief bard arrived with his pupils at a house, this pot was set down in the midst, and the *filii* began intoning his poems. Now, if those present did not throw a sufficiency of gold or silver into the pot, the bard broke forth into a satire of the most abusive and scurrilous nature, mingled with imprecations which carried terror to the hearts of those satirized.<sup>1</sup> They carried their audacity to such an extent that they demanded of King Aed the Royal Brooch, which from the remotest times had descended from monarch to monarch of Erinn, and they threatened to satirise him if he did not surrender it. Aed, however, had the moral courage to refuse so audacious a demand, and ordered the banishment of the whole profession out of the country, and again they took refuge in Ulidia.

Now, no sooner do we see St. Patrick organising the Church in Ireland, than we find him adopting the practice of the "filleadh," and going about with a gang of disciples, quartering himself on the people, and gathering to him pupils, ordaining clergy, furnishing them with an A B C, as it is called, *i.e.*, a summary of Christian Belief, some altar utensils, and then despatching them in gangs over the country, in the same way. But there was a notable distinction in the conduct of St. Patrick that differentiated it from that of a peripatetic bard. He had no "Pot of Avarice" to protrude under the nose of his host. Indeed, his reticence in the matter of begging aroused the indignation of St.

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Irish*, ii, p. 56.

Sechnall, who said, "Patrick is a good man, no doubt, but he has one great fault ; he does not beg enough."

"What is that you have been saying of me ?" asked the Apostle.

"I said," replied Sechnall, "that you did not sufficiently preach charity."

"It is out of charity that I do not," answered Patrick.<sup>1</sup>

But as soon as the first results of his mission had been achieved, then his successors, indeed his disciples, occupied the places of the Druids and Ollhams, as stationary teachers annexed to the several tribes, and drew their revenues, and recruited themselves in the same way, conducted the same course of studies, exercised the same discipline, led precisely the same lives, but with a teaching of Christianity in place of paganism.

Mr. O'Curry says : "After the introduction of Christianity into Erinn, the enthusiasm which marked its reception by the people, and more particularly by the more learned and better-educated among them, gave to almost all the great schools a certain ecclesiastical character. The schools of the early saints were, however, by no means exclusively of this kind ; but as the most learned men were precisely those who most actively applied themselves to the work of the Gospel, and as it had always been the habit of students to surround the dwelling of the most learned, to dwell near the chosen master, and thus (somewhat as in ancient Greece) to make for themselves a true academy wherever a great master was to be found, so did the laity also, as well as those intended for the sacred ministry, gather in great numbers round the early saints, who were also the great teachers of history and general learning. And so, while from such academies naturally sprang hundreds of priests, saints, and religious, there also were the great bulk of the more

<sup>1</sup> *Tripartite Life*, i, 240.

comfortable portion of the lay population constantly educated. Every part of educated Europe has heard of the great university of Ardmacha, where so much as a third of the city was appropriated even to the exclusive use of foreign, but particularly of Saxon and British, students, so great was the concourse to its schools from all the neighbouring nations.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now pass from the first period of Celtic monachism to the second, when it assumed a character more in consonance with that in Egypt and the East. This was due largely to the enormous popularity attained by the *De Institutio Cœnobitorum* and the *Consolations Patrum* of Cassian, also the *Vitæ Patrum* of Rufinus, and the *Life of Saint Martin* by Sulpitius Severus.

According to the *Life of Saint Cadoc*, his monastery at Llancarvan comprised a hundred clerks, a hundred free men, and a hundred workmen. "This comprised the family at Llan-Carvan, without reckoning the serfs and daily visitors, the number of whom was uncertain."<sup>2</sup>

St. Columba took with him to Iona twenty bishops, fifty priests, thirty deacons, and fifty scholars.<sup>3</sup>

In order to secure a site for a monastery, someone must be buried in it. When St. Columba arrived at Iona, the question arose who was to be buried, and Odhran offered himself.<sup>3</sup> In late writers the horrible truth is disguised ; and more recent legend, unable to account for the burial alive of a monk under the foundations, explained it another way. Columba, it was said, buried Odhran because he denied the resurrection. So, the sisterhood at Cill Eochaille, founded by St. Senan of Inis Cathy, complained to him that they had no corpse to protect their establishment. I will quote the words exactly. "They entreat Senan that the body of a lowly monk of his community might be given to them 'to be buried by us, so that his reliques

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Irish*, ii, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Camero-British Saints*, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Book of Lismore*, p. 178.

may protect us.' 'Verily,' saith Senan, 'this shall be granted to you. Be in no distress as to one from whom your protection shall come.'<sup>1</sup> So also Senan was hardly secure of his hold on Inis Cathy, till he had buried two little boys in it who had been drowned.<sup>2</sup> This was, no doubt, a relic of paganism carried over into the new faith.

For the consecration of Clonmacnois, a leper who had been in St. Patrick's retinue was buried, apparently alive. "The leper found a hollow elm with two branches issuing from one stem. He seated himself between them. Then a certain man came up to him. 'Art thou a believer?' asked the leper. 'Yes,' replied the man. 'Bring then tools for digging the earth, that thou mayest bury me here,' said the leper. This was done. He was the first dead man that went to make the clay of Clonmacnois."<sup>3</sup> Something less was occasionally considered to suffice. St. Patrick gave one of his teeth as a relic for the dedication of Cill Fiacla.<sup>4</sup> St. Finnian of Clonard did the same for another dedication.<sup>5</sup> St. Columba, of Tir-da-Glas, cut off one of his fingers for the same purpose.<sup>6</sup> This craving after relics, if not originating in paganism was in complete accordance with it. St. Patrick found that the Irish soaked the bones of a Druid in a well, and then employed the water to work miraculous cures.<sup>7</sup> St. Cainech ascertained that the people of Connacht offered religious cult to the skull of a dead hero, or Druid,<sup>8</sup> and the men of Leinster were wont to carry with them into battle the skeleton of the heathen king Ailill, son of Dunlang, in a chariot before them to ensure victory; precisely as, after that they became

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Lismore*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> *Tripartite Life*, i, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> *Book of Lismore*, p. 225.

<sup>6</sup> *Acta SS. Hibern.*, Cod. Salamanca., p. 451.

<sup>7</sup> *Tripartite Life*, i, p. 123.

<sup>8</sup> *Acta SS. Hibern.*, Cod. Salamanca., p. 367.

Christians, they had the *cathair* of the Saint borne before them:

Having established the monastery, the great abbots next drew up their rules. According to that of St. David, a postulant who desired admission into, not the tribe, but the inner community, was required to remain for ten days at the gate, an object of derision to all. If he stood this ordeal, he was allowed within, and was placed under the orders of a monk, as his tutor; but he was still put to severe tests before he was granted full privileges.<sup>1</sup> This was copied directly from the usages of the Egyptian Cenobites.<sup>2</sup>

Few features are more amazing in Irish or Welsh ecclesiastical history than the way in which whole families embraced the religious life. In a good many cases they could not help themselves; the fortunes of war, a family revolution, obliged members of a royal family to disappear as claimants to a secular chieftainship, and to content themselves with headships of ecclesiastical institutions. But religious enthusiasm was also a potent power determining them in their choice. We see this among the Northumbrians. Bede says that the same phenomenon manifested itself there; for chieftains who were entirely undisciplined in religion all at once posed as saints, founded monasteries, and placed themselves at the head of these institutions.<sup>3</sup> Into these monasteries they invited their friends and dependents, who brought in their wives and families. Bede was so concerned at this condition of affairs, that he wrote to Archbishop Ecgbert, of York to entreat him to put a stop to such irregularities, as he with his Latin ideas considered them. He says that in Northumbria, there were many nunneries over which the chiefs set their wives.

In the Irish monasteries, as at Iona, the brethren constituted a monastic family, divided into three

<sup>1</sup> *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Cassian, De Instit.*, iv, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Eccl.*, A.D. 731.

classes: 1. The Elders, *seniores*, dedicated to prayer and the instruction of the young, and to preaching; 2. The lay brothers, *operarii*, who were principally engaged in manual labour; and 3. The students and servitors, *juniiores alumni*, or *pueruli familiares*.<sup>1</sup> When St. Samson constituted his monastery at Dôl, he had, as his biographer says, the same three classes: *monachi*, *discipuli*, *famuli*. When he went to Paris to visit Childebert (*circ.* 554), he was attended by seven monks, seven pupils, and seven servitors.<sup>2</sup>

The head of the monastic family was called abbot, *abba pater*, *pater spiritualis*, or simply *pater*, very often *senex*. He lived apart from the rest of the monks, probably on higher ground than the rest, so that he might command the entire community with his eye. Under him was the *œconomus* or steward, often mentioned in the "Lives of the Saints," notably in those of St. David, St. Cadoc, and St. Samson. His duty was to look after the temporal affairs of the monastery, and in the abbot's absence he took his place. Below the *œconomus* was the *pistor* or baker, who was not limited to making the bread for the community, but had oversight over all the food required. St. Samson was invested with this office on Inis Pyr, and was accused of having been extravagant, and wasting the money belonging to the convent.<sup>3</sup> The only other office of significance was that of the cook, *coquus*.<sup>4</sup> Among the pupils, the students were not limited to study: they divided among them the looking after the sheep and oxen, and the grinding of the corn in the mill.<sup>5</sup> They were set an A.B.C. to acquire, but this probably means, not only the letters, but the rudiments of Christian belief. They had also to acquire the Psalms of David by heart.

<sup>1</sup> Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, 1874, p. cvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., Plaine, ii, c. 20, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, 1<sup>ma</sup>, i, c. 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Book of Lismore*, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 207, 269.

The Irish monks were habited in a tunic and cowl ; the tunic was white, and the cowl the natural colour of the wool. In addition, in cold and bad weather, a mantle (*amphibalus*) was worn, sometimes called a *casula*, or *chasuble*.<sup>1</sup> A good many of the abbots, and even monks, seem to have delighted in clothing themselves in goat or fawn skins.<sup>2</sup>

The Greek tonsure, which is called that of St. Paul, consisted in shaving the entire head ; the Roman tonsure, as that of St. Peter, was restricted to the top of the head, leaving a band of hair around it. The tonsure of the Britons and Scots consisted in shaving all the front of the head from ear to ear. As we see by the Bayeux tapestry, a non-ecclesiastical tonsure was practised by the Normans in the eleventh century, which was that of shaving the back of the head. The meaning of a tonsure was the putting a mark on a man to designate that he belonged to a certain class or tribe, just as colts or sheep are marked to indicate to whom they belong. The knocking out of certain teeth, the deforming of the skull, and tattooing among Indian and other savage races, has the same significance. All men are born alike, and to discriminate among them, artificial means must be had recourse to. Circumcision among the Jews, and Egyptians and Kaffirs, has the same meaning.

The tonsure was known in pagan Ireland, and was probably—almost certainly—general among all Celtic races, the Druids being tonsured to mark the order to which they belonged ; and each tribe, if it did not wear its tartan, was distinguished by some sort of trimming of the hair.

The Celtic tonsure for ecclesiastics was possibly purposely adopted from that of the Druids ; but this is not certain, as “adze-head” was a term applied to the Christian clergy as derisive, because their long faces and curved bald brows bore a sort of resemblance to a

<sup>1</sup> Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, p. cxviii ; *Book of Lismore*, pp. 218, 219, 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 128.

tool, the so-called Celt. Probably it was the Druidic tonsure with a difference.<sup>1</sup>

At first, in the constitution of an ecclesiastical school, there was no mention of celibacy, and many of the schools were mixed, not always with satisfactory results. And this led to the separation of the sexes. We now come to the second stage of Celtic ecclesiastical organisation, which was monastic, developed out of the Druid communities, and moulded on the type of the lauras of Egypt and Syria.

The three obligations now required of a monk were obedience, chastity, and poverty. Obedience, according to the "Life of St. David," must be implicit.<sup>2</sup> According to the penitential statutes of Gildas, a Breton monk who neglected executing at once the orders of his superior, was deprived of his dinner. If he forgot an order, he was let off with half a meal. If he should communicate with one whom the abbot had excommunicated, he was put to penance for forty days.<sup>3</sup> According to the rule of St. David, if a brother should say even of a book that it was his own, he was subjected to penance.<sup>4</sup> This, however, may be a later redaction of the rule, for certainly, as we see by instances given in the Lives of the Saints, it was not a universal rule. With regard to transgressions of the rule of chastity, great severity was shown. St. Patrick even, when he found that his sister Lupait had erred—she being one of his religious community and his embroidress—drove his chariot thrice over her body, although she lifted herself up with tears, imploring forgiveness, and did not desist till he had beaten and crushed the life out

<sup>1</sup> Three kinds of tonsure are mentioned by the early Irish writers: the monachaic (*berrad manaig*), the servile (*berrad mogad*), and the Druidical (*airbacc giunnæ*).—*Tripartite Life*, i, p. clxxxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> *Præfatio Gildæ de Pænitentia*, cc. ix, xi, xii, in Haddan and Stubbs, i, pp. 113-114.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 128.

of her.<sup>1</sup> A nun who had transgressed, when she died, was sunk as an accursed thing in a bog.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to say with any amount of confidence how many were the offices of devotion performed by the monks during the day and night, because so many of the "Lives" are late, and writers described the routine in the early monasteries very much as it was known to them in Benedictine abbeys of a far later date. They would seem to have had the Mass said, not daily, but on Sundays, and daily to have recited the entire psalter; not, however, invariably in choir, but privately in most cases. They had, however, common offices: one only of these has been preserved, and is found in the *Book of Mulling*. It is that of Vespers, and is in part illegible. It began with an invitatory, then came the Magnificat, then something that cannot be deciphered, followed by three verses from a hymn of St. Columba. Then ensued a lesson from St. Matthew, followed by three stanzas from a hymn by St. Secundinus, and three from a hymn by Cummian Fota. Then the three final verses of the hymn of St. Hilary of Poitiers, the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and a Collect.<sup>3</sup>

The instruction given in these great institutions was altogether oral. "There were no books except a few manuscripts, and they were highly prized. The instruction was generally given in the open air. If the preceptor took his stand on the summit (of the *rath* enclosure), or seated his pupils around its slopes, he could be conveniently heard, not only by hundreds but even by thousands. They were easily accommodated, too, with food and lodging. They built their own little huts throughout the meadows, where several of them sometimes lived together like soldiers in a tent. They sowed their own grain; they ground their own corn with the quern or hand-mill; they fished in the neighbouring rivers, and had room within the termon lands to graze cattle to give them milk in abundance.

<sup>1</sup> *Tripartite Life*, i, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Book of Lismore*, p. x.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Hymnorum*, 1898, p. xxii.

When supplies ran short, they put wallets on their backs, and went out in their turn to seek for the necessaries of life, and were never refused abundant supplies by the people. They wore little clothing, had no books to buy, and generally, but not always, received their education gratuitously.<sup>1</sup>

The routine in Clonard can be gathered from the "Life of St. Finnian." We are told that on one occasion he sent his disciple Senach to see what all his pupils were doing. Senach's report was : " Some are engaged in manual labour, some are studying the Scriptures, and others, notably Columba of Tir-da-Glas, are engaged in prayer."<sup>2</sup>

As we have already seen, in the first century of Christianity in Ireland—and the same doubtless applies to the Christianity of other Celtic lands down to about 540, there was no interdiction of the society of women, but after that the monastic form of religion became distinctly one of celibacy. Scandals had been so many and so frequent, that it was deemed advisable to forbid women altogether from entering the monastic precincts. We see that in St. Senan, who would not suffer a female, however aged, to enter the isle in which he lived with his monks. As the remarkable and oft-quoted early catalogue of the orders of saints says of the second stage, "Secundus ordo Catholicorum presbyterorum . . . Abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis." In some monasteries the interior within the *rath*, with its churches and dining-hall, was interdicted to women, and this interdiction subsisted at Landevenec from the close of the fifth century for four hundred years.<sup>3</sup> At the close of the sixth century the rule was in full rigour in the monastery of St. Maglorius at Sark. Some went even further, like St. Malo, who would not allow even a layman to come within the embankment.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Healy, *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*, 1896, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Cod. Salamanca*, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Vit. St. Winvalvei*, ii, c. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita 1<sup>ma</sup> Sti. Malovii*, i, c. 40.

That in spite of every effort to raise artificial barriers, a very pure morality did not always reign among the monks and pupils, appears from the *Penitential* of Gildas; indeed, that reveals a very horrible condition of affairs.<sup>1</sup>

The diet of the monks consisted of bread, milk, eggs, fish. On Sundays a dish of beef or mutton was usually added.<sup>2</sup>

Beer and mead were drunk, and sometimes so freely that in the *Penitential* of Gildas provision had to be made for the punishment of drunkenness. At Inis Pyr, or Caldey Isle, where the Abbot tumbled into a well when drunk, we are assured that St. Samson by his abstinence gave great offence to the monks. "In fact," says his biographer, "in the midst of the abundant meats and the torrents of drink that filled the monastery, he was always fasting, both as to his food and his drink."<sup>3</sup> The liquor drunk was not only ale, but also "water mixed with the juice of trees, or that of wild apples," that is to say, a poor cider; and we are assured that at Landevenec nothing else was employed.<sup>4</sup> At Llan-Illtyd "it was usual to express the juice of certain herbs good for health, that were cultivated in the monastery garden, and mix this extract with the drink of the monks, by pressing it, by means of a little tube, into the cup of each; so that when they returned from the office of Tierce, they found this tipple ready for them, prepared by the *pistor*."<sup>5</sup> This was clearly a sort of Chartreuse.

As has been frequently pointed out, in the earliest monasteries the Abbot had under him one or more bishops, subject to his jurisdiction. This condition of affairs did not last very long.

The kings and chiefs had been accustomed to have

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Ecccl. Doc. and Councils*, i, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves, *Life of St. Columba*, 1874, p. cxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita, 1<sup>ma</sup> Sti. Samsoni*, in *Acta SS. O. S. B.*, sœc. i, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Sti. Winwaloei*, ii, c. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Vita, 1<sup>ma</sup> Sti. Samsoni*, i, c. 16.

their Druids at their sides, to furnish them with charms against sudden death and against sickness, and to bless their undertakings and curse their enemies. The abbot could not be with the chief or king ; as head of a tribe he had to rule a territory, and attend to the thousand obligations that belonged to his position. Accordingly, a bishop was sent to the chieftain to do the work of medicine-man for him ; this was the beginning of a change in the system, approximating it to that of the Church in the Empire. The bishop about the person of the chief eclipsed the abbot, and became the chief man in ecclesiastical matters belonging to the tribe. The *Lebar Brecc* describes the duties of a bishop : “A bishop for every chief tribe—for ordaining ecclesiastics and for consecrating churches, for spiritual direction to princes and superiors and ordained persons, for hallowing and blessing their children after baptism (*i.e.*, confirming), for directing the labours of every church, and for leading boys and girls to cultivate reading and piety.” And the same authority gives as the duties of every priest in a small church : “Of him is required baptism and communion, that is the Sacrifice, and sung intercession for the living and the dead, the offering to be made every Sunday, and every chief solemnity, and every chief festival. Every canonical hour is to be observed, and the singing of the whole psalter daily, unless teaching and spiritual direction hinder him.”<sup>1</sup>

We may, I think, fairly consider the sketch I have given as illustrating the condition of Christianity among the Celtic races of Britain, up to the moment when the Latin Church prevailed, and stamped out all its peculiarities, reducing all to one uniform level.

As already indicated, it passed through two marked stages ; the first was that of the fusion of Christianity with the ideas and superstitions of Celtic paganism, and the penetrating of Christianity into institutions of hoar antiquity. The new wine in about a century

<sup>1</sup> *Tripartite Life*, i, clxxxiii.

burst the old bottles, and entered into a stage purely monastic : not indeed very different in many particulars from that condition in which it had been at first, as to its outward appearance, and yet different in that it was invested with the obligation to celibacy.

If the early phase of Celtic Christianity was one strangely mixed with paganism, we must remember that in many points Druidism furnished a singularly pure and exalted teaching ; and next that these men who stepped direct out of Druidism into Christianity, passed almost in an hour from one religion into another, and became almost immediately teachers of this new religion ; they had not time to get rid of their hereditary superstitions, and were unable to assimilate at once the highest doctrine of the religion they had embraced.

In the first period there were the fanatical ascetics, a relic from paganism, who gloried in frightful austerities, and thereby acquired an enormous influence over the common people, but they were few. In the second period there was little of this ferocity of asceticism, but the principle was applied generally to all the community that was assembled about the saint. In the first age there was only one ascete ; in the second, the whole community was supposed to be severe in self-denial. This was largely due, as already said, to the introduction of such popular books as the *Life of St. Martin*, by Sulpicius Severus, and the Institution of the Monks of the East, and the *Historia Lausiaca*.

We may note, and repudiate if we are Pharisees, the imperfection of the Christianity of these early saints of the Celtic Church, but in one point they read us a most wholesome lesson. They were thoroughly in earnest as far as their lights went, and they were by no means what we are—self-indulgent ; and if I mistake not, self-denial lies at the very basis of a Christian life.

We come now to the material structures of the monasteries.

In the *Life of St. Aed Mac Bric* we read of a builder of forts coming to him and offering to construct a *rath*

for him. The Saint sent him to a friend who wanted one. The man dug deep moats and threw up banks forming three concentric rings, and this was called Rath Balbh. The payment was as many sheep as the *rath*-builder could drive away.<sup>1</sup>

This account shows us that the monastic *rath* was very much like the military camp. When St. Cadoc set to work at Llancarvan, "he raised up a great bank of earth, to make therein a very handsome cemetery . . . where the bodies of the faithful might be buried near the church. The bank being completed, and the cemetery also constructed therein, he made four large footpaths." "Likewise he chose another place for himself, and caused another round mound to be raised therein, of the soil, in the shape of a city (tumulum in modum urbis rotundum de limo terræ), which in the language of the Britons is called Castel Cadoc."<sup>2</sup> Here, I take it, Cadoc did not heap up a great tump, but threw up an earthen circumvallation, otherwise it would hardly have been like a city, *i.e.*, a *caer*, and have had four paths through it. Precisely the same thing was done by the British Saints who settled in Armorica. In the Legend of St. Gouzenou, the Cornish *Winnow* is a fable that contains a substratum of truth. When he was about to form his monastic establishment, he bade his brother, St. Majan, take a pitchfork and draw it in a circle round the place determined on as a suitable site. St. Majan did so, and lo ! the fork formed a deep moat, and cast up a mound of earth within, resulting in a circular enclosure, defended by moat and embankment.<sup>3</sup>

Bede describes the monastic enclosure of St. Cuthbert on Lindisfarne thus : "He had there built himself, with the assistance of the brethren, a small dwelling, with a dyke about it, and the remaining cells, and an oratory . . . The mound that encompassed his habi-

<sup>1</sup> *Vitæ SS. Hibern.*, Cod. Salamanc., p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 34-5.

Le Grand (Alb.), *Vies des SS. de Bretagne*, ed. 1837, p. 660.

tation was so high that from thence he could see nothing but heaven, to which he so ardently aspired."<sup>1</sup> "It was built of sods and stones so large that four men could hardly lift them, and was nearly round, being four or five perches in diameter, and the wall outside was less in height than inside."<sup>2</sup> The Irish ecclesiastical enclosures were always 140 ft. in diameter, or thereabouts, in accordance with the measurement said to have been adopted by St. Patrick for the monastery built under his direction at *Ferta*: "Seven score feet for the fort, and seven and twenty for the great house, and seventeen feet for the kitchen, and seven feet for the oratory."<sup>3</sup> This rule applied only to Ireland, but it is conceivable that the Irish settlers in Western Cornwall may have introduced the same traditional measurements into their settlements there. The enclosure is called either a *rath* or a *lis*. When a woman saw the monks of St. Carthagh throwing up an embankment for their new monastery, "What are you doing there?" she asked; "We are making a little enclosure, *lis beg*," they replied. "Lis beg!" exclaimed the woman, "I do not call it a lis beg, but a lis mor (i.e., a large enclosure)," and Lismore became the name of St. Carthagh's establishment.<sup>4</sup>

The restricted limits of St. Patrick's *Ferta* can never have contained more than those who were professed monks; for the disciples were in some case so numerous that they could not have been contained within a vallum that enclosed so small a space. At Llancarvan, Cadoc had under him three hundred pupils. At Bangor, in North Wales, there were two thousand. At Clonard, in Ireland, under the direction of St. Finnian, there were three thousand; St. Lasrian ruled over one thousand five hundred, St. Cuana over one thousand seven hundred and forty-six. That these numbers are not an exaggeration we know from the testimony of Bede. Speaking of Bangor, he says that the monastery was divided into seven parts, with a ruler over each, and that none of

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> *Vit. St. Cuthbert*, c. xix.

<sup>4</sup> O'Curry, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 4.

the subdivisions contained less than three hundred men;<sup>1</sup> and he tells how St. Fursey fairly ran away from Ireland to escape "the crowds that resorted to him."<sup>2</sup> Nor is this at all surprising when we consider how a saintly tribe was constituted. It stood as an ecclesiastical entity over against that which was secular and military. It was well endowed, and the saints exercised enormous power and enjoyed extraordinary privileges. It is therefore more than probable that the habitations of the disciples were without the *vallum*, and that within were only the cell of the Saint, the church, a large refectory and the kitchen, and the cells of such monks as acted as professors in his college, and assisted him in ruling the tribe, and the college. The buildings were for the most part of wood or wattle, but where wood was scarce and stone was abundant, there they were constructed, in the rudest manner, of unhewn blocks of stone, not laid in mortar, but one on another, and the interstices filled with spalls and clay.

The true Celt was never a builder. He constructed his hovels and palaces, his churches and halls, of wood and wattle.

In Ireland there is no hesitation among the ancient authors in attributing the stone forts, or *cashels* and *cathairs*, to the primitive population divided into the two branches of Tuatha da Danann and Firbolgs, who were subdued by the Scots or Gadhaels. All the great stone forts, with but one exception, are stated to have been erected by this conquered people.

From their predecessors in the country the Irish Gaels learned to build with stone as well as with wood; but they give us the names of the great builders with stone as a distinct class, and all probably belonged to the subjugated race.

It must have been much the same in Britain. Bede tells us that the Britons were wont to cover their churches and domestic buildings externally with withies,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 19.

woven together to protect them from storm and rain ; and we know that at a considerably earlier period the Britons showed this structural expertness in building with wattles and plastering with coloured clay.

The early Christian Britons, who seem to have acquired nothing of the building art from the Romans during the three centuries of their occupation of the isle, constructed their churches of importance, such as Glastonbury, of wattles only.<sup>2</sup> St. Gwynllyw built his church near his caer at Newport of boards and rods.<sup>3</sup> When St. Columba was about the construction of a cell at Rathinis, and had collected three bundles of rods, he abandoned his purpose, because he supposed that others would follow who would build each a cell out of a single bundle.<sup>4</sup> When St. Bridget had marked out her enclosure for Kildare, she saw a hundred horses laden with pealed poles, the property of a prince of the country, which were going for the construction of his palace. She begged them of him for her own monastery.<sup>5</sup>

When St. Finnan of Clonard was engaged with other monks in building near St. David's, it was with timber cut in the forests.<sup>6</sup>

St. Kieran of Clonmacnois built his monastery of stakes and wattles.<sup>7</sup>

There is a pretty story in the life of St. Baithin, the nephew of the great Columba. The latter had placed him under the tuition of St. Colman Elo. Baithin's understanding was clear and acute enough, but his memory failed him. It happened one day that St. Colman was so irritated at the dulness of his pupil that he boxed his ears ; whereupon the latter ran away

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 14 ; i, 20 ; iii, 25.

<sup>2</sup> *William of Malmesb. Chron.*, i, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Acta SS. Junii*, i, p. 316

<sup>5</sup> *Book of Lismore*, *Anecdota Oxon.*, 1890, p. 194.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276.

into a wood, to hide himself, and escape from his lessons. There he sat, watching a man who was building a house; and the process is described, for the story relates that as soon as the artificer had woven one osier into the wattle wall, he immediately introduced the head of another, and so worked on, from rod to rod, setting one only at a time. Slow as this process was, the young student saw the house rising apace; and he said to himself, "Had I pursued my studies with the assiduity of this fellow, it is probable that I might have become a scholar." It came on to rain; Baithin was under a tree, and watched the drops distil from the leaves. He made a hole in the ground with his heel, and amused himself observing the water trickle into the depression, till at last it was full. That settled the matter. If the little drops could fill up the small basin he had made, then the daily instruction in the school would in time fill him with learning. And he returned to his master.<sup>1</sup>

There is a characteristic story of St. Moling and the building of his oratory. A great yew tree had been blown down at Ross, and St. Molaise, on whose property it was, gave to St. Moling sufficient of the timber for his church. Moling got together eight carpenters and their wives, and eight apprentices, to build his oratory for him. The artisans contented themselves with living at his expense for a twelvemonth, discussing how they were to begin and proceed with the structure. Then St. Moling's patience was exhausted, and he went to work himself on the timber with an axe. But a chip flew into his eye, and nearly blinded him. However, the eight carpenters began now to consider it was time for them to commence work, and they set themselves to the business of constructing his church.<sup>2</sup>

St. Aedan, or Maidoc, wanted to build a church when in Wales. His steward said to him, "We will build; the necessary timber is cut in the forest, but we have

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, iii, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, p. 34.

not got men or oxen to draw it." The Saint replied, "Go to your cell and remain there. Mind and not peep, whatever you hear." However, the steward, hearing much noise during the night, did look out, and saw angels drawing the timber to the site. Because he peeped, we are told the angels took flight ; and had he not done so, they would have finished the church before dawn.<sup>1</sup>

Another curious story is that of the building of the great church of Rathan, in 747. Rumann was the royal bard of Ireland. He came to Rathan at a time when the people were suffering from famine, and at the same time building their church. They were much vexed at his visit with a large retinue at such a time, when short of food, and they bade the architect of their church meet the bard before entering Rathan, and forbid him nearer approach. The builder did not dare do this in so many words, and accordingly sent him a message that he was not to enter the town till he had composed a poem in which there should be an enumeration of the boards that were employed in the building of the *duirtheach*. Then the poet composed this quatrain :—

" O my Lord ! what shall I do,  
About these great materials ?  
When shall be seen in a fair jointed edifice  
These ten hundred boards ? "

For actually the oratory was constructed of a thousand planks.<sup>2</sup>

It was not till late that the Irish began to build their churches of stone. When St. Finnian was returned from Iona, "he built at Lindisfarne a church suitable to his Episcopal seat ; but, as is usual with the Scots (*i.e.*, Irish) not of stone, but of hewn oak, and he covered it with reeds."<sup>3</sup> The successor of Finnian, however, encased the church in lead. The church at York was originally of wood.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Acta SS. Hibern.*, Cod. Salam., p. 484.

<sup>2</sup> *Bede, Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 25.

<sup>3</sup> O'Curry, iii, 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 14.

There are scanty traces of Roman structures used as churches in Britain, at Reculver, Canterbury and Lyming, and there is the interesting little basilica unearthed at Silchester. St. Martin's, Canterbury, is said by Bede to have been "built in honour of St. Martin, while the Romans still inhabited Britain";<sup>1</sup> and of the cathedral, he says that it was "a church which he learnt had been there built by the ancient work of the Roman believers."<sup>2</sup> But, so far, no evidence has been produced of any churches erected by the Britons themselves of stone or brick.

In 710 Naiton, king of the Picts, summoned to him architects to erect for him "a new church of stone after the manner of the Romans."<sup>3</sup> In 676 Benedict Biscop, of Monkwearmouth, brought masons for his monastery from Gaul, to erect buildings there of stone, after the Roman manner.<sup>4</sup>

Even in Gaul, at the beginning of the sixth century, the art of building with mortar was all but lost. St. Genoveva was desirous of building a church *more Romano*, but none knew how to burn lime. However, she heard that some old lime kilns had been discovered in the forest that had been employed by the Romans, and insisted on the experiment being made to burn for mortar, and so had St. Denys built, and the fact was regarded as phenomenal.<sup>5</sup>

At the very time that Benedict Biscop was constructing his stone monastic church at Monkwearmouth, Derlaissec, abbess of Kil-slieve-culin, had her church built of hatchet-split planks; "for the Scots (Irish) did not set up walls, nor did they keep in repair such as have been constructed."<sup>6</sup>

The building *more Romano* was with cut stone set in mortar. Of this sort of building neither the dusky non-Aryan race that preceded, nor the Celtic in its

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, *Vitæ Abattum in Wiramuth*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Vit. Sta. Genovevae. Acta SS.*, Jan. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Vit. Sta. Monenæ, Acta SS.*, July 6.

two branches, Gaelic and Brythonic, knew anything; and there is no evidence that the latter acquired the art from their Roman masters.

The great *caers* or *cashels* in Ireland, Wales, Scotland and the West of England had been built up of large stones reposing one on another, the interstices filled in with clay, the walls very thick, and bonded either with huge stones, where these were available, where not, with balks of timber, morticed together, as Cæsar describes was the mode of construction adopted by the Gauls. And where wood was not to be obtained, there the monastic builders did occupy stone *cashels*, and lived in beehive huts of stone, and had stone quadrangular oratories.

When St. Cadoc was about the construction of Llan-carvan, he built of wood, in the well-timbered country fringing the Severn; but when in Alba and in Armorica, he erected churches of stone.<sup>1</sup> So, also, St. Iltyd, in the valley of the Hodnant, "erected a church of stone materials, and surrounded it with a quadrangular dyke."<sup>2</sup>

Till the twelfth century the Irish remained attached to structures of wood, as may be seen by St. Bernard's *Life of Archbishop Malachi*.

The very interesting remains of stone-built monasteries on the West Coast of Ireland show that such structures did exist. At Ty Gwyn, near St. David's, the monastery was of stone. It got its name from the whitewash applied to it. So did Withern, or Candida Casa, in Galway, and many of our Whitchurches doubtless derive their appellation from the very primitive stone sacred edifices which were washed over with lime, and probably none was used as mortar. It was so with the *cathairs*, the stone forts of unhewn blocks. The only use made of lime in them was to whitewash them. Thus, in the *Leabar na h Uidhri* it is said that a Druid

<sup>1</sup> *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 472.

built a *dun*, and his wife limewashed the walls with her hands.

"Pure white was the lofty firm *dun*,  
As if it had received the lime of Erin,  
From the two hands wherewith she rubbed the dwelling."

And another Irish MS. describes a *dun*, the wall of which was white as chalk, and the *clachauns*, or beehive huts, were also as white as snow.<sup>1</sup>

Off the coast of Britany, on the north, is the island of Bréhat, which was occupied by St. Budoc. And here are the remains of the ancient monastery; not of the enclosure, but of the beehive habitations of the monks, and the foundation of their quadrangular church.

The best preserved monastic as well as Pagan *cashels* are those on the West Coast of Ireland.

Miss Stokes says, in the introduction to Lord Dunraven's magnificent work on the early architecture of Ireland: "To judge from the existing remains of the earliest monasteries in Ireland, it would appear that the monks merely adopted the methods of building then practised among the natives, making such modifications in form as their difference of purpose and some traditional usage required. The earliest ecclesiastical buildings in Ireland are the monasteries, consisting of two or more oratories, together with the dwellings of the monks, enclosed by a wall, termed "caisel," pronounced "cashel," i.e., stone fort, a word derived from the Latin *castellum*. The remains of these circumvallations so strongly resemble the Pagan fortresses, that Dr. O'Donovan was inclined to regard them as having been such originally. However, a comparison between the two proves that, while their similarity in structure seems to point to the same degree of knowledge in the builders, yet differences do exist that mark their independent purpose." Four of the old Firbolg *cashels* were actually surrendered to the monks, who converted them into

<sup>1</sup> Sullivan, Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 1873, i, cciii.

monasteries. These were the Dun of Muirbhech Mil, in Aran Mor, that of Lugaiddh, that again of the Chief-tain Conall, and the palace of the kings of Ulster. The Christian *cashels* erected by the monks resembled these, and only departed from the type in certain particulars.

"The island monasteries, of which such fine remains exist, were not permanent residences, but were places of temporary retreat; and the founders of these hermitages were men at the heads of large and important schools of religion and learning, such as Clonfert, Devenish, Ardfinan and others, who either used them as places of probationary effort at an early period of life, or visited these retreats at rare intervals, or in their old age retired thither to die in quiet. But they were men of hard hands and tender hearts, sustaining themselves by their labour; men of indomitable courage and no mean skill, who crowned these storm-beaten cliffs with their uncemented but still enduring walls."

That there must have been some such settlements in Wales, who can doubt? Maelgwn Gwynedd surrendered his *caer* to St. Cybi, who erected his church within the enclosure. There are doubtless others in Wales, and in Cornwall similar camps converted into religious settlements exist.

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## WELSH RECORDS.

BY JOHN PYM YEATMAN, ESQ.

THE authority of Welsh genealogical MSS., from an English standpoint, is of very great importance; not merely to the genealogist (who is regarded generally as more or less a mere faddist), but to the capitalist and to the lawyer: the right to property, whether real or personal, is frequently controlled by proof of pedigree. The necessity for investigation arises frequently, probably because so many English adventurers have wandered into Wales, picking up heiresses; or, more frequently, acquiring their estates and the estates of their fathers, through political jobbery, and sometimes by purchase; so that frequently English pedigrees can only be traced by Welsh records. Welsh genealogy, properly understood, is in some respects, spite of the want of surnames, very superior to the English system, inasmuch as it is not confined simply to the heads of the family as holders of estates—which is the reproach of the latter—but gives information relative to the junior branches of the family, and especially with regard to the families and descents of the wives of which English visitations are frequently deficient. Unfortunately, there exists in England a profound distrust, not to say contempt, for Welsh genealogy; and for this Welshmen are very much to blame, because they do nothing, or next to nothing, in illustration and development of their treasures, either to inspire confidence or to encourage a reference to them: besides this, they are surrounded by an air of mystery which is very repulsive to the English mind, and they are generally without dates or names of places; and, worse than this, usually without any reference to the sources from which they are drawn—blots absolutely fatal to their being of any use or

acceptance in English legal procedure. Nor are they esteemed of much greater value by the authorities of Heralds' College : as a rule they will only accept Welsh pedigrees which are recorded, that is, which can be found upon their own shelves, and they have but very few of them; the great works of Dwnn, David Edwards, and George Owen, are put aside, as well as most of the original visitations of English counties, because forsooth these works, although well known and undoubtedly genuine, are not to be found at Heralds' College : a great number are to be found in the Harleian collection, and in other repositories some of Dwnn's and Owen's, and others are in the Egerton library, some at Cardiff free library (purchased from Sir Thomas Phillipps' collection). These works ought to be accepted as authorities, although not in the College, because there is no law giving it an exclusive right to their custody ; whilst quite unreasonably the College will accept the evidence of the *Golden Grove MSS.*, which the Earl of Cawdor has most liberally placed at the disposal of scholars and the public, by depositing it at the Public Record Office ; but, unfortunately, it is by an unknown writer of an uncertain date, of so recent a period that it was by one who was certainly not a herald. It was formerly erroneously attributed, by the late Mr. Horwood, in his report to the Royal Historical Commission, and by many others, to the deputy-herald, Hugh Thomas. If this could be proved by evidence of handwriting, it would make it a work of authority ; but it is of a much later date, and the handwriting is not like either of those used by Thomas in his works. The date is clear, from the internal evidence of the work itself : it was compiled between the years 1751 and 1771—possibly other dates may be found which may expand this period, but they cannot contract it.

It is very strange how writers of eminence have contented themselves with guessing at the age and authority of MSS., without making any real attempt to prove them ; and this may account for the difficulty to obtain

recognition of them as authorities. The idea of comparing other works with the one in question does not seem to have been thought of ; and yet an author has so stamped his individuality through his handwriting, that in most cases proof may be attained, so approximately that it may almost be deemed absolute ; and for all practical purposes it is absolute, because the proof of identity can be so supplemented by evidence of extraneous circumstances, that no moral doubt remains.

In these days of photography there ought to be no difficulty in establishing the authorship of any MS., though unfortunately separated from the other works of the author, although the process of photography is sometimes of doubtful value ; and it is greatly to be regretted that Lord Cawdor's valuable MSS. cannot be transferred to the British Museum, where it could be directly compared with other MSS. This axiom may be laid down, universally, that all Welsh MSS. are copies, some by Heralds, and others by equally eminent—and some by not eminent—authorities, from the works of their predecessors. Until this truth is acknowledged there can be no confidence given to special MSS. ; but once it is accepted, the clues to prove it are in our hands.

Take the *Golden Grove Book*, almost the latest of the great authorities ; that is obviously drawn from many sources, and a list is given to distinguish some of them (since they are only quoted in the body of the book by initials), but this list curiously omits the two leading lights which inspired it, William Lewis and David Edwards, whose notes are *passim* ; both of them are constantly referred to, and generally by name, so that it was unnecessary to mention them amongst the list of the initialed. It is well known to Welshmen that William Lewis, of Llwynderw, "copied Edwards' works and arranged them on a new method, setting the one under the different chieftains, and the others together in a separate volume." This is stated by Edward Prothero, junior, under date August 12th, 1842, in a series of letters, to be found with the volumes now in the

Bodleian Library, under Additional C, 177. Now this is precisely the arrangement of the *Golden Grove Book*, so that it is obvious that the writer, as he acknowledges, had access to Edwards, though possibly through his copyist Lewis.

It is then necessary to inquire for the works of David Edwards, and here the *Golden Grove Book* is of immense value, for its constant references to the several distinct volumes of David Edwards—who generally arranged his pedigrees under counties—absolutely proves the identity of Edwards' MSS. The *Golden Grove Book* often preserves the very forms, and even the pagination of David Edwards; and, more than this, it proves that the volumes at the Bodleian Library which relate to the several counties of Radnor, Montgomery, Cardigan, Carmarthen and Monmouth, were part of the collection at the Heralds' College, which are erroneously entitled there as Prothero's MSS. That they were separated at an early date is clear from page B 263, of the *Golden Grove Book*, when referring to Edwards' Radnor pedigrees, he writes “*que mihi desiderantur.*” Prothero records, in the letters now in the Bodleian, all that he knew of the history of these MSS., and gives it as his opinion “that they are the originals, or more probably copies of David Edwards,” and he refers to a note at p. 35 of the Radnor volume in which there is this statement: “*David Edwards his book lent to Iohn Lloyd, Mai 9, 1726, R.B.P.*” This writing he attributes to David Edwards, of Rhyd-y-gors, but it is more likely to be that of the borrower, or someone who wished to preserve proof of the author; possibly this David Edwards was the Sheriff of Carmarthen (1721), and not the author of the books. Prothero writes: “*This (Radnor) book is in the same handwriting as similar books of pedigrees now in Heralds' College, and which I had attributed to David Edwards.* There is no reason to doubt that they are all parts of the great collection of pedigrees made by that gentleman, of which we have but imperfect portions like this volume, which is apparently de-

ficient in several parts, and probably they were but rough copies of some better books. Mr. Edwards of Rhyd-y-gorz, near Carmarthen, told me in 1829 that his great-aunt, the widow of David Edwards, sheriff of Carmarthen, 1721, who was first cousin once removed of David Edwards, the genealogist in question, possessed several folios of pedigrees written on vellum.

“Mrs. Edwards was a Davis of Cwm, in Carmarthenshire (and she remarried one Lewis of Harrybrook, who by a former wife was ancestor of Mrs. Taddy, the owner of these volumes ;” a note added by someone to account for their being called by that lady’s name, though it seems to be hardly accurate if Prothero is writing correctly).

“Mr. Edwards could not tell me (writes Prothero) what had become of these volumes ; I do not remember whether he had really seen them. The portions of the MSS. now in the Heralds’ College were formerly in Mr. Lloyd’s, of Alltyndine’s, possession, from whose son I bought them ; and I subsequently sold them, after thoroughly sifting them in order, and making indices to all of them, separately and collectively, to the Heralds’ College for the money I gave for them, £70.”

The writer had endeavoured to get access to the Prothero volumes at the Heralds’ College in order to follow out the clues given by the *Golden Grove Book*, but failed, owing to the fact that the volumes he sought were not to be found there ; and he was assured by some of the Heralds that what they had were “mere copies of the *Golden Grove Book*.” A subsequent visit to the Bodleian resulted in finding Edwards’ five volumes there, with Prothero’s account of his sale of the others to Heralds’ College. That Prothero’s not very positive belief that the whole of the volumes in both collections were the work of David Edwards, was accurate, has been proved by the aid of photography, the University authorities (unlike some Welsh owners of MSS.) having very generously permitted photographs to be made of parts of these books, which

prove that they formed part of the collection at Heralds' College, and were in the same handwriting.

Prothero's suggestion that they were probably "only rough copies of some better books" is most improbable; their very roughness proves that they were the working copies of some maker of pedigrees; they are full of corrections, additions, rearrangements, and other signs which stamp them with the authority of originality. On the other hand, the *Golden Grove Book* is obviously a copy, for it is wanting in all these signs of original composition. Possibly it is the copy which Mrs. Edwards took "for pedigrees written on vellum." If Lord Cawdor could be prevailed upon to give the history of his MSS., this might be cleared up, and their value and true place in Welsh genealogical MSS. might be better ascertained. A MS., like a witness at a trial, depends for its value upon its character—like Cæsar's wife, it should be above reproach. Very curiously, and suggestive of a connection between Edwards' book and that of the Golden Grove, at folio 119 of Edwards (Radnor volume) is a pedigree of the Vaughans, Earls of Carbery, of Golden Grove, brought down from Hugh Vaughan of Kidwelly—whose great-grandson, John Vaughan, was created Earl of Carbery—to his grandson, John, the third and last Earl of that family, who had two wives: 1st, Mary, daughter of Humphery Brown of Cawdor Castle (in another MS. called Green Castle), who died s.p.; and 2nd, a daughter of George Saville, Earl of Halifax, whose only daughter married Charles Pawlet, Duke of Bolton. This curious combination of the Golden Grove family with Cawdor Castle must surely relate to the *Golden Grove MSS.*, though it does not explain (nor does *Burke's Peerage*) how they came into the possession of the Earl Cawdor. This pedigree is an interpolation in David Edwards' work, and is written by the same writer who recorded the fact that the Radnor volume was the book of David Edwards, *lent to Iohn Lloyd*; and in the vol. for *Montgomery*, p. 113, there is a pedigree of Price of Ystrad-

fyne in Carmarthenshire, by David Edwards, to the year 1690, which is continued by this same writer to Edward Price, who died without male issue, but who left issue by his daughter (who married David Lloyd of Wern newydd, County Cardigan) several sons and daughters, three of whom were then married, showing that this continuator lived probably at a much later age. The Earl of Cawdor is descended from a marriage of John Campbell, of Cawdor Castle, with a daughter and heiress of Lewis Price.

It is not difficult to discover the date of David Edwards' work, though unfortunately he gives but few references and few dates, except those of the taking of his pedigrees; which only includes a small percentage of the whole number of pedigrees; thus only seventeen out of seventy pedigrees are dated for Radnor, four in 1670, three in each of two other years, and the rest one per year.

In Montgomery only seven are dated, out of a much larger number. In Cardigan sixty pedigrees are dated; of these twenty-three in 1683, twenty-four the next year, eleven in 1685, and one in 1686.

In Carmarthen sixty pedigrees are dated; eight in 1670, twenty-seven in 1684, twelve in 1685, three in each 1686 and 1687.

In Monmouth only twenty-eight are dated, all in different years, except in 1684, when four are dated. From this it would appear that Visitations were made in 1670, 1684, and 1685; or does it prove more than this—that Davies entered pedigrees when he liked, and had seldom a regular Visitation? It would seem that these dates referred to the head of the family; if their estates had vested in co-heirs it is accurately stated.

It appears that Edwards was appointed deputy to Sir Henry St. George (Clarenceux) 1 August, 1684, and it was probably not his first appointment; he appears to have ceased to act in 1686, the later pedigrees not being his work.

Some of the sources of his work may be gathered

from the following initials and references, which are taken from the Radnor book only; probably the other Bodleian volumes, and those in the Heralds' College, would, if examined, produce many more. Compare these with the initials in the *Golden Grove Book*, and their connection is apparent. "W. H." (according to the *Golden Grove Book*, Walter Hopkins), at pp. 2, 5, 45, 71, 37; Wm. Lyn, p. 5; Wm. Lad, p. 65; "G. O. H." (Griffith Harry Owen, G.E.), pp. 5 and 20; Mr. Powell of Ednops, pp. 6 (twice), 7 (twice), 40 (twice), all relating to Ethelston Glodrud, from whom he was descended; T. H., p. 6; Gr. H. (Griffith Hiraethoc), pp. 6, 19, 45, 49, 61; Gr. M. (Griffith Morgan, G.G.), p. 70; Wm. B., pp. 7, 19; B. K., p. 7; D. H. W. (Rich. Howell Wms., G.G.), pp. 9, 13, 24 (2), 36; E. J., pp. 13 (2), 15, 19; Mr. Pres Williams (Richard Williams, G.G.), p. 13; The Old Roll, p. 17; "T. I. C. (Tom Sion Catti, G.G.), p. 18; T. p. C., p. 69; P. E. (query Peter Ellis), p. 32; Morgan R. D<sup>m</sup>, p. 40, and M. R. Wm., p. 42, both on pedigree of Elystan Glodrudd (query the same writer, Dwn, p. 19), pp. 45, 47; Lewis Dwn, p. 70; H. P., p. 62. Mr. William Lewis and Mr. Edwards, *passim*. Welsh scholars can probably supply the missing names at fo. 9 of the Carmarthen book; there is a reference to George Owen, no doubt the *Egerton MS.* 2586. Here is ample evidence to show a common origin between the *Golden Grove Book* and David Edwards; or, rather, that Edwards was the groundwork of the other, and that he made his book up from the older authorities, probably presented to him through William Lewis.

There is a MS. in the British Museum which to an English lawyer is of infinitely greater value than any other known Welsh composition; it is entitled modestly, *Peter Ellis Icti Maelorensis Armiger corpus genealogicum inchoatu' destinatu' nondu' consumatu'*, it is to be found in *Additional MSS.* 28,033 and 28,034, catalogued as the work of Peter Ellis, *jurisconsultus* of Maelor. The British Museum Catalogues and Calendars give no information respecting this Peter Ellis; recourse was

had to that invaluable medium of enlightenment, *Notes and Queries* (see 9th series, iv, 412, 483, v. 109, 358), which produced replies from the Honble. George T. Kenyon, of Ellesmere, which resulted in an interchange of ideas between several eminent Welsh authorities with Mr. H. R. Hughes, of Kinmel Park ; Mr. Edward Owen, of the India Office ; and that able and indefatigable Welsh genealogist, Mr. A. N. Palmer, the learned author of *The History of Wrexham*, which happily resulted in a full discovery of Peter Ellis, and gave an approximate date for his work. Peter Ellis was an attorney of Staples Inn, and was admitted to Gray's Inn November 21st, 1608 (see Foster's *Gray's Inn Records*, which also gives the admission of David Edwards, the Deputy Herald, on October 27th, 1668, as son and heir of David Edwards, of Rhygorse). The *Icti* attached to his name may be intended for *juris-consultus*, but as he was a lawyer he would hardly have added at the end the Esquire to which—if he were an attorney—he was not properly entitled, that, if he were so entitled, would precede the legal title ; but a stronger objection is that Maelor is the hundred in which Peter Ellis lived, and there is an Iscoit in it which adjoins the property of his family. Peter Ellis himself resided at Wrexham, but his will, proved in the P.C.C. ult. January, 1637, describes him as of Bersham, Denbigh. He does not describe himself or his property, but he refers to his lands in Denbigh and Flint ; and amongst his feoffees in trust was one Humphrey Lloyd, whom he also appointed his executor, and who proved his will with Wm. Hughes. That this Peter Ellis was the author of the book is clear beyond any reasonable doubt, from the fact that the name of "Humphrey Lloyd of Bersham" is written on it, and he would appear to have been the writer of the name of Peter Ellis, with the curious additions.

This Humphrey Lloyd was a Master-Extraordinary in Chancery, and was buried at Wrexham, December 27th, 1673, as it is recorded on a small brass plate still

existing. A pedigree, very kindly produced by Mr. H. R. Hughes, of Kinmel Park, proves that no less than sixteen of the legatees of Peter Ellis referred to in his will were his near relations, fourteen of them standing in the relation of first cousins on his father's side. Robert Ellis, a Royalist colonel, was his first cousin, and Thomas Ellis, of Barbadoes, was his brother. The mother of Peter Ellis was Ann, the daughter of Hugh Vychan of Prestatin, and her brother, Thomas Hughes, was Sheriff of Flint, 1611. Rys Lloyd, who appointed him his trustee, and who married Margaret, the widow of Edward Puleston, was his second cousin.

Mr. A. N. Palmer, of Wrexham, supplies a pedigree showing that Humphrey Lloyd, of Bersham, was closely allied to the same families. He married a daughter of Ffoulk Middleton, of Lansilen, and their daughter married Richard Middleton of that place, whose sister married John Lloyd of Ferme, son of Rs. Lloyd, who married the widow of Edward Puleston.

The extraordinary value to the English genealogist of Peter Ellis's work is that he gives his authorities for nearly every paragraph in each pedigree: so that, although he was not a Herald but a mere lawyer, evidence may be obtained in support of each link of his pedigrees. He not only gives amongst his authorities all the great authors of his time, but, by giving the very pages from their works, a large number of them now hopelessly lost, or perhaps buried in the libraries of modern Welsh gentlemen, are preserved in these MSS. Welshmen generally, unhappily, regard these priceless treasures as their own peculiar property, and not (as in fact they are) the heirlooms of the Welsh people and their common property, in which the temporary owner has but the right of a trustee; and they should be accessible, under proper restrictions, to all scholars and people interested in them, just as the Parish Registers are properly the inheritance of the people. The Earl of Cawdor has set a noble example,

which it is to be hoped will be followed by others, so that English and Welsh alike may profit by them.

Without in any way desiring to detract from the merit of Peter Ellis, to whom is owing the invaluable boon of, doubtless, an accurate copy of all these great works, it may be pointed out that he was not even the original compiler of this work, but that it was chiefly taken (as he himself acknowledges) from an older writer—one Edward Puleston, of Havod y Wern, a Norman family long settled in Wales, and for generations holding high offices there. In the time of the “cruel” King Edward I, there was at Emrall, Sir Roger Puleston, of whom the Welsh poet Evan Evans, in his ode, “The Love of our Country,” thus wrote: “His minion Puleston, though beloved, they slew”—which was cruel, if chivalrous, on the part of these lovers. His descendant, John Puleston, was Chamberlain of North Wales in the time of Henry VI (or Edward IV). His son, John Puleston, married Ellen, daughter of Piers Stanley, and it was the pride of Peter Ellis—though he was a Welshman by descent—that he had English blood in his veins. He had a double descent from the father of Piers Stanley, through his grandmother Gwenhevar, daughter of John Ithel Wynn, of Coed y Llay, and through his mother, Ann, daughter of Humphery Vichan; and, on the same pedigree, he records the descent of his friend “John Edwards, of Stanstey,” who writes on the margin of the pedigree: “This note was under Mr. Peter Ellis’ own hand—the Antiquary and Lawier.” Piers Puleston, son of John and Ellen Stanley, married a daughter of Sir Thomas Hanmer (a relative of the wife of Owen Glendower), and their grandson, Edward Puleston, presumably the chief author of the Peter Ellis book, married Margaret, daughter of Humphrey Ellis, of Allrhey, whose mother was Jane, daughter of John Edwards, of Chirk—a great genealogist, much quoted by Peter Ellis; so that it is probable that Edward Puleston was himself a copyist of the works of Edwards.

of Chirk or of Stanstey. That this is probable appears from the fact that Margaret Ellis, after the death of Edward Puleston, probably retained possession of the book. She re-married Rs. Lloyd of Ferme, and Peter Ellis would seem to have been her trustee. This appears from the will of Rs. Lloyd, proved at St. Asaph, 1642, who calls him his dear friend then deceased.

This work of Peter Ellis evidently always appears to have been considered as entitled to the highest respect, for it contains upon it the handwriting of many celebrated antiquaries—Mr. Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, John Davies, of Rhiwlas, and others—and so highly did Mr. Vaughan esteem it that he had a copy made of it by his son, Griffith Vaughan (also a noted genealogist); and this copy, notwithstanding the lamentations of Evan Evans over the dispersion of the *Hengwrt MSS.*, is still at Peniarth, in the library of Mr. Wynne, who has many other treasures of Welsh genealogy, including some small pieces of Lewis Dwn. In process of time, Mr. Vaughan's copy came to be supposed to be his own composition and in his own autograph.

Hugh Thomas, the Deputy Herald, appears to have had another copy of Peter Ellis (or was it the original which became divided ?), and to have bequeathed half of it to Lord Harley, and that portion is now No. 2299 in the Harleian Library. The other half of it was sold, in 1807, to Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth. W. Owen writes of it that it was bought at the sale of Sir John Sebright's MSS., and was formerly part of the collection of Edward Lhwyd, of the Ashmolean Library. It would not appear that its true history was known, for it is merely marked in the sale catalogue, now in the British Museum, as No. 1232, "a book of pedigrees," sold to Mr. Wynne for £20 10s. It was No. 359 in the *Hengwrt* collection.

Mr. Wynne, who was a keen antiquary, supposed that it was a transcript of MS. No. 96, which at one time was generally supposed to have been in the autograph of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, and he wrote a note to this

effect which is now inserted in *Harleian MS.* 2299, at the British Museum; whilst in his own MS. No. 96, he subsequently wrote, no doubt, through further enquiry: "This is, I believe, a MS. of Griffith Vaughan, son of Robert, and not of Robert himself." This was most honourably acknowledged, partly, no doubt, in consequence of a reference to it in the *Cambrian Register*, vol. iii, p. 289, in these terms: "This is undoubtedly the most perfect and authentic collection of Welsh pedigrees now extant, digested with wonderful ingenuity into a form totally new after an unremitting labour of many years; nor is it the least part of its merit that it is written as neatly as it is curiously planned, so that well the handwriting might be called Parlous (it is written Parhous), an epithet peculiarly adapted to its character, which, however, the fashion of penmanship may alter, can never become difficult or antiquated, being like the style of our great Shakespeare, suited to every age. It is in the autograph of Robert Vaughan, the well-known antiquary of Hengwrt." Mr. Wynne was too true an antiquary to care that any false statement should be made respecting his MS. It is perfectly certain that Mr. Wynne was accurate in stating that his MS. No. 96 was not in the autograph of Robert Vaughan, because, as before mentioned, that distinguished scholar has annotated Peter Ellis's work, and signed or initialed his annotations, and the Peter Ellis MS. is, besides, of a much earlier date than Robert Vaughan's copy; and certainly Robert Vaughan's copy as well as Peter Ellis's, is later in date than the copy which was partly Hugh Thomas's and partly Edward Lhwyd's; indeed, it is absolutely certain that this so-called copy of Mr. Wynne's copy is the oldest of the three, and it may be the lost copy of Edward Puleston, or perhaps of one of the Edwards' of Stanstey or Chirk. There is a very curious likeness between them, and there cannot be a question that, somehow, papers belonging to the other have been bound up with them. Peter Ellis and Hugh Thomas's volumes have the same table of con-

tents : but the arrangement of the books and the pagination is entirely different. It is difficult to see how both of them could use this Index. Unfortunately, in the *Additional MS. 28,033*, the list of authorities is gone, although there is part of such a list in the handwriting of Peter Ellis, improperly bound up with it at p. 54 ; but the whole of this document, including Ellis's portion, is set out in 2299. It would be very valuable to prove that another list of authorities bound up in *Harleian 2299* was in fact a portion of Peter Ellis's book, since it would prove that he copied Edward Puleston. There is a note in the Hengwrt book, No. 329, in the handwriting of Mr. W. W. E. Wynne. "The old part of this Index is a transcript of part of the index to Hengwrt 96." Several pages of Peter Ellis, photographed, have been compared with Griffith Vaughan's copy 96, as well as with Hengwrt 359, and they are, except in arrangement, practically identical ; but in Peter Ellis's there are many additions to it in his handwriting showing that it is of later date. It has been added to subsequently by other writers. John Davies, of Rhiwlas, Editor of the *Display of Heraldry*, 1716, seems to have owned the Peter Ellis volume, and to have made many additions to it in his peculiar handwriting. John Edwards, son of Thomas Edwards, of Llangollan Fechan (a student of Jesus College, Oxford), appears to have possessed the volume by right in 1714 ; the grandfather of this John Edwards, Thomas Edwards, son of John of Hendebrays, married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Davies, of Rhiwlas, and so probably brought the book into the family.

The orthography of the two indices differs : Aethun in one is Aedan in the other ; Seitsyllt, Seisyllt ; Bachymwyd, Bachemvid ; Efel for Evel. The names in Peter Ellis under K are so inserted in the other book, but are spelt with C.

The Index in Peter Ellis has been added to by inserting names, but they are all written straight off in the other, and some of them have no pages given for them, which would seem to indicate that the Peter Ellis was

the elder, from which the other was copied. The matter is precisely the same, so that one must be copied from the other, or both from the same original. Peter Ellis's, like David Edwards', MS. shows proof of original work, whilst the other fails in such evidence, and, moreover, it is not written by the same hand : the writer of pages 1 to 263 is not the writer of pages 271 to 544, so that it is certainly a copy.

A curious point arises with respect to Margaret, verch Humphrey Ellis, of Allrhey. Peter Ellis was her trustee on her second marriage to Res Lloyd of Ferme, and gives both matches in his book, but in the copy 2299 (*Harleian*) in the Puleston pedigree, her marriage with Edward Puleston, of Havod-y-Wern, is given, but not her second marriage, and if this MS. is Edward Pulestone's, of course he could not enter his widow's second marriage ; this would seem to go far to prove that this was Edward Puleston's copy, but the evidence vanishes or becomes less conclusive when the pedigree of Res Lloyd is looked at. Peter Ellis gives his marriage with Margaret Ellis, but makes no mention of Edward Puleston, and *Harleian* 2299 does the same. Edward Puleston, the husband of Margaret Ellis, had an uncle named Edward, who may have been the author of the book ; and the Puleston pedigree, which is worked out very elaborately, gives two other nearly cotemporary Edwards. Again, it may be noticed that some of the watermarks on the paper of each volume are nearly similar. Both copies, though agreeing in date with *Hengwrt* 96, are much earlier than the period of Robert Vaughan, and consequently take precedence of his book ; besides, 96 is clearly a clean copy, and has no sign of original work ; but each of the three has its value in establishing the authority of Edward Puleston's work ; and of Peter Ellis, who followed him, the least that can be said of *Harleian* 2299 is, that if it is not the work of Edward Puleston, it is probably a copy of it.

The writer in the *Cambrian Register* is quite mistaken in supposing that the mode adopted in *Hengwrt* 96,

was novel ; it certainly was used in the reign of Elizabeth, and there are many pedigrees in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, now at the Public Record Office, in the same style, but it was probably a very ancient mode. It is certainly a very convenient one, though it is a little troublesome to follow the branches over a great number of pages, and some pedigrees are spread over 50 different pages. The handwriting is simply the old English Court hand, prevalent amongst lawyers in Peter Ellis's time. So much for these valuable MSS. It is a pity that both the books called *Peter Ellis* and *The Golden Grove* should not be properly edited and published. A mere copy of the latter would be of small value, because it gives so few authorities ; but edited by the light of *Peter Ellis* and other books, the proper authorities would be brought out in notes, and the value be fully ascertained.

It is not generally known, even amongst genealogists, that the accuracy of Welsh pedigrees can be tested, and they can be confirmed for 500 or 600 years by the aid of the Plea Rolls. Peter Ellis, who was a practitioner in these Courts, must have been well aware of this, and probably made use of them. They commence in 33 Henry VIII. There is a very fine collection of Welsh pedigrees in these Plea Rolls, going back sometimes for eight and ten generations ; and these relate not merely to the litigants, but to the sheriffs and coroners of the several counties. It would appear that these officers, who had the manipulation of the jury lists in their hands, were very corrupt ; and it was not an uncommon thing for one of the parties to object that the jury was selected by a relation of one of the parties, and the relationship of eighth or ninth cousin was used in proof. These pedigrees were set out step by step, and form a very valuable collection of pedigrees relating to all the chief families of each county. What is very curious and perplexing is, that the objection quite as frequently came from the side of the relation of the official objected to as from the other : so that probably

this system was abused in order to postpone the trial, or possibly because some hostile person had been accidentally returned as jurymen. Surely, Welsh societies ought to take this matter in hand, and publish a complete collection of these pedigrees. This publication would enhance the value of Welsh MSS., because it is surprising how much these legal pedigrees agree with them. Possibly they are taken from the pedigrees of the bards, at least of those who survived the destruction by Edward I, and in these Rolls is to be found a means of restoring much that is lost.

The Welsh clergy have been terribly careless with their parish registers. Very few can go back even to the time of Cromwell; but the admirable collections of Plea Rolls, gaol files, fines, and Court Rolls of many kinds help to bring down Welsh pedigrees with tolerable certainty for at least 500 years. The same cannot be said of our English counties, though generally parish registers, wills, etc., have been better preserved in England.

In conclusion, it should be noted that in all probability the *Golden Grove Book* is the work of Evan Evans, the Welsh poet before mentioned. It is of his period, dated 1751 to 1771, and is initialed as the work of E. E.; but, as there is no direct evidence that he copied it, and his handwriting varies so much at different times, it would take too much space in this article fully to state it, that question must be deferred to a future publication. Very certain it is that the Heralds are nearly a century out of date in supposing that these volumes of Edwards, which they erroneously call Prothero, are copied from it.

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## THE BELLS OF THE PRIORY CHURCHES OF ABERGAVENNY AND BRECON.

BY EDWARD OWEN, ESQ.

WHILST at work at the Public Record Office a short time ago, I accidentally alighted upon a document which fills up a blank in the sadly incomplete story of the fate of some of the bells belonging to the dissolved religious houses, set forth in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October, 1897, vol. xiv, p. 285. It relates to the bells which hung in the tower of the Benedictine priory of Abergavenny at the period of the suppression of the lesser monasteries, 27 Henry VIII (A.D. 1536), and which by the Act of Parliament of that year became vested in the King. When the priory of Abergavenny was visited by a royal official for the purpose of formally dissolving the religious corporation, and of making arrangements for the disposal of the marketable furniture of the house, the parishioners denied the right of the Crown to the bells of the church. The ground taken was no sentimental one. It was based upon a more powerful if less pleasing motive—that of self-interest. The people of Abergavenny cared not what became of the vessels and vestments that had been used in the holy offices of the church; but they had subscribed for the bells, and were consequently not going to give them up without a struggle. The ethics of the matter are not the business of the antiquary; his it is to be thankful that the parishioners of Abergavenny refused to allow the bells of the priory church to be removed, and that the course of the dispute which ensued is still dimly traceable by the student of our public records.

The document printed in the number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October, 1897, affirmed—

"That sithens the Suppression of the said late priorie Edwarde Gostwyke and [blank] Waters to whome or late sou'aigne lord King Henry theight directed his highnes comission amongst other things for the survae of the said bells did finde and apperceyve as well by the views and situacion of them as also by other manifest profes and evidences then taken before them that those bells and none other did belong to the parishioners."

It is the commission, or, rather, the "manifest proofs and evidences" here alluded to, that I have just come across. To endeavour to draw out their features of special interest to Cambrian antiquaries would be superfluous; the highly interesting touches in which they abound, and the peculiar circumstances to which they testify, will, I feel sure, make their presentation in the Journal a pleasure to my fellow-members. It should be borne in mind that the document is prior in date to that given at p. 289 of the number of the Journal already quoted. The decree of the Court of Augmentations is still wanting to wind up the story, and I am hoping that it will yield itself up to a further search.

*Public Record Office. Court of Augmentations: Miscellaneous Books*, vol. 117, f. 18.

"The deposic'ons of certene Parsons off the towne of Ab'genny taken by Edward Gostwyk and Edward Watturs com'ysson's of the courte of augme'tac'ons in South Wales accordinge to the com'aundme't of maister Chauncello'r and other of the counsell of the same as hereafter ffolloweth consn'ge three bells of the late pryore there. That is to sey

"Ffurst Thomas ap Lethin beyng of the age of 66 saith and depositeth upon his othe taken the vjth day of November in the xxixth yere of our sov'aigne lord kinge Henry the viijth that one called Jenkyn ap Lethin of Aburgenny his father, beyng a smyth dide worke of his owne p'per costs and charges to the settinge upp of the said bells in the late priorie, and also besides pade his parte to the byenge [buying] of the saide bells, howe muche he can not tell, and otherwise he knoweth not.

"John ap Po'll. ap John beyng of the age of  $iiij^{xx}$  yeres saith upon his othe taken at the same tyme That one John ap Jeuan Vaghan of Ab'genny, his father in lawe, did paye  $xx.$  for his parte, and his ffather in lawe's brother called Thraherne ap

Jeuan ap Gr'ff' paide for his parte xiijs. iiijd. to the byenge of the saide bells ; ffurthermore, he sayeth that the p'ishe of Aburgenny shuld ringe and did ringe the same bells if any of their seru'nts dyed, withoute lycence or restraint of the priorie or covent, and so dide use till the suppression of the saide late priore. And also the saide p'ishe shuld ffynde all man[ner] of costs and charges belonginge to the saide bells ; also, further, he saieth that he was one of them w'th one Jenkyn da blether, John Bengreth, Thomas Coke, Jenkyn ap Gwill'm, Ll'n vynneth and Will'm ap Po'll ap Jeuan that went aboue into the countrie with games and playse to gather money to pay for the forsaide bells ; and otherwise he knoweth not.

" Thomas Richard Bouchier beyng of the age of iiij<sup>xx</sup>x, saieth and deposeth upon his othe taken at the same tyme that he knoweth that the towne of Ab'genny bought the bells, and saieth he paid ijs. iiijd. for his parte to the byenge of them, and saide the prior nor covent paid never a penny to the byenge of them, but the towne and the countrie. And also saieth that one Jeuan D'd taillo'r paid xs. to the byenge of the bells for his parte, and the cause in knowinge of the same he saieth he dwelt next howse unto hym. And ffurther saieth where the towne of Ab'genny was not able to pay the some of money for the bells the countrie helped and made owte the rest ; and lykewise saieth the said towne founde all costs and chargis belongynge to the said bells ; and otherwise he knoweth not.

" M'dd' [Meredith] ap Po'll ap John beyng of the age of iiij<sup>xxviij</sup>, deposeth upon his othe taken at the forsaide tyme that he paid viijd. for his parte to the byenge of the same bells, and one Will'm Morgan, gentleman, his maister, paid vjs. viijd. at one payme't to the byenge of the said bells. And also saieth he never sawe no man pay anythyng for the same bells but only the towne and the countrie that they gatte upon theym w'th games and plays ; and otherwise he knoweth not.

" Morice Johns, Thomas Phillip, Meryke Jeuan Lloyd, Rice ap Phillipe, gentlemen and yomen, and one Will'm fflecher of the ages of lxx and iiij<sup>xx</sup> a pece saieth and deposeth upon their othes taken at the said tym accordinge as the other depone'ts hath saide before ; and otherwise they knowe not.

" (Sd.) EDWARDE WATTERS, EDWARD GOSTWYK."

The document relating to the bells of the priory church of St. John the Evangelist, Brecon, though not so interesting as that already given, adds to our knowledge of the relations existing between parishioners

and clergy in pre-Reformation days. One wonders what were the decisions of the Court of Augmentation—or, perhaps, the cases may have been by some means transferred into the Exchequer—in the Abergavenny and Brecon disputes, for it is difficult to see how the parishioners could hope to make good their claims. It must also be remembered that the questions would be decided by a trained lawyer, who would regard them from a very different point of view to the episcopal functionary who, before the Act of Suppression, would have had the settlement of the conflicting rights of clergy and laity. Can any of our ecclesiastical antiquaries throw light upon the relative positions occupied by priest and people, from the literature of English provincial constitutions, or Lyndwood's *Provinciale*? The late Mr. Freeman has taught us to recognise in the architectural peculiarities of certain of our Welsh churches, and amongst them Abergavenny and Brecon, the division of the sacred edifice into the parochial church and the conventional church; and it now seems that the bells within the common steeple might come under the same principles of demarcation.

The Brecon document is as follows:—

*Public Record Office. Court of Augmentations:  
Proceedings, 15.*

"To the right honorable Sr Richard Ryche, knyght Ch'un-cellor of the king's courte of Augmentac'ons of the revenues of his grace's crown.

"In most humble wyse complayning shewyth unto youre good maistership yo'r orators Wyll'm Thomas and Will'm Walter of the towne of Brecknoke, and all others the burgesses of the same towne That where the late pryory of Brecknoke was the tyme owte of mynde the paryshe churche of all the hole towne of Brecknoke and the sayd burgesses and other inhabytaunts of the same towne had thre little bells in the stypell there and the pryor had too [two] great belles there, and the said burgesses and inhaby'tnts of the sayd towne dyd allways paye to the sayd pryor and his p'decessors iiijd. sterling at any tyme that they wold have that the said too great bells to be runge at any buryall there, Soe hit good Sir that yo'r said

orators be informyed that certen p'sons do intende to bye the said bells of the kyng's heighnes informyng yo'r mastership that the said thre belles do belong to the kyng's highnes as well as the other too great belles, wherfore pleasith hit yo'r good maistershipe of yo'r goodnes to be so good maister to the sayd powre towne that they may have and kepe ther said thre belles, and that noo sale be mayd therof, and they will dayly praye for the p'svac'on of yo'r mast'ship's long to contynewe."

## SOME DOLMENS AND THEIR CONTENTS.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 228.)

## DENMARK.

ILLUSTRATIONS and descriptions of the different kinds of sepulchral monuments of the Later Stone Age in Denmark will be found in A. P. Madsen's *Antiquités préhistoriques du Danemark*—*l'Âge de la Pierre*, and *Gravhöie og Gravfund fra Stenaldren i Danmark*, and H. Petersen's paper on "Om Stenalderens Grav-former i Danmark" in the *Aarbøger* of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen for 1881, p. 299. The examples illustrated by Madsen are in Frederiksborg Amt (N. Seeland), Kjöbenhavns Amt (E. Seeland), Holbæck Amt (W. Seeland), Sorø Amt (S.W. Seeland), Præsto Amt (S. Seeland), Laaland, Hjörring Amt (N. Jutland), and the islands of Moen and Bornholm (at the entrance to the Baltic).

Madsen divides the Danish dolmens into the following classes :

(1) *Langdysser*, or long dolmen-tumuli, containing one or more sepulchral chambers, and with the base of the mound surrounded by a setting of upright stones.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Rund-dysser*, or round dolmen-tumuli similar to the foregoing, except that the mound and setting of stones is circular, and that they usually contain one chamber only.

(3) *Jættestuer*, or megalithic sepulchral chambers having an entrance passage.

We give here illustrations of the three classes of dolmens reproduced from Madsen's magnificent work, already cited. The *langdysse* (shown on the first plate,

<sup>1</sup> The settings of stones are usually rectangular in plan and not oval, nor with projecting horns like those found in Great Britain.

facing p. 300) is at Gunderslevsholms Skov, Sorö Amt, in Seeland; the *runddysse* (shown on the second plate, facing p. 300) is at Halskov, Sönder Herred, in Falster; and the double *jaettestuer* (shown on the third plate, facing p. 300) is at Smidstrup, Frederiksborg Amt, in Seeland.

The dolmens of Denmark resemble those of Sweden, except that the twin dolmens seem to be peculiar to the former country.

The following Danish dolmens have yielded specially complete sets of grave-goods.

The *Gundestrup Dolmen* (Osterham Herred, Hjöring Amt, Jutland).

#### CONTENTS.<sup>1</sup>

##### *Human Remains.*

##### *Weapons, Tools, and Appliances.*

Three leaf-shaped lance-heads of flint.

Three flakes of flint.

Two perforated axe-heads of polished stone.

##### *Personal Ornaments.*

Fifteen beads of amber, some in the shape of miniature perforated axe- and hammer-heads.

##### *Pottery.*

One perfect urn of earthenware, unornamented.

Two fragments of urns of earthenware, with ornament.

(Described and illustrated in A. P. Madsen's *Antiquités préhistoriques du Danemark—l'Âge de la Pierre*, Pl. 15.)

The *Stege Dolmen* (in the island of Møen).

#### CONTENTS.<sup>2</sup>

##### *Human Remains.*

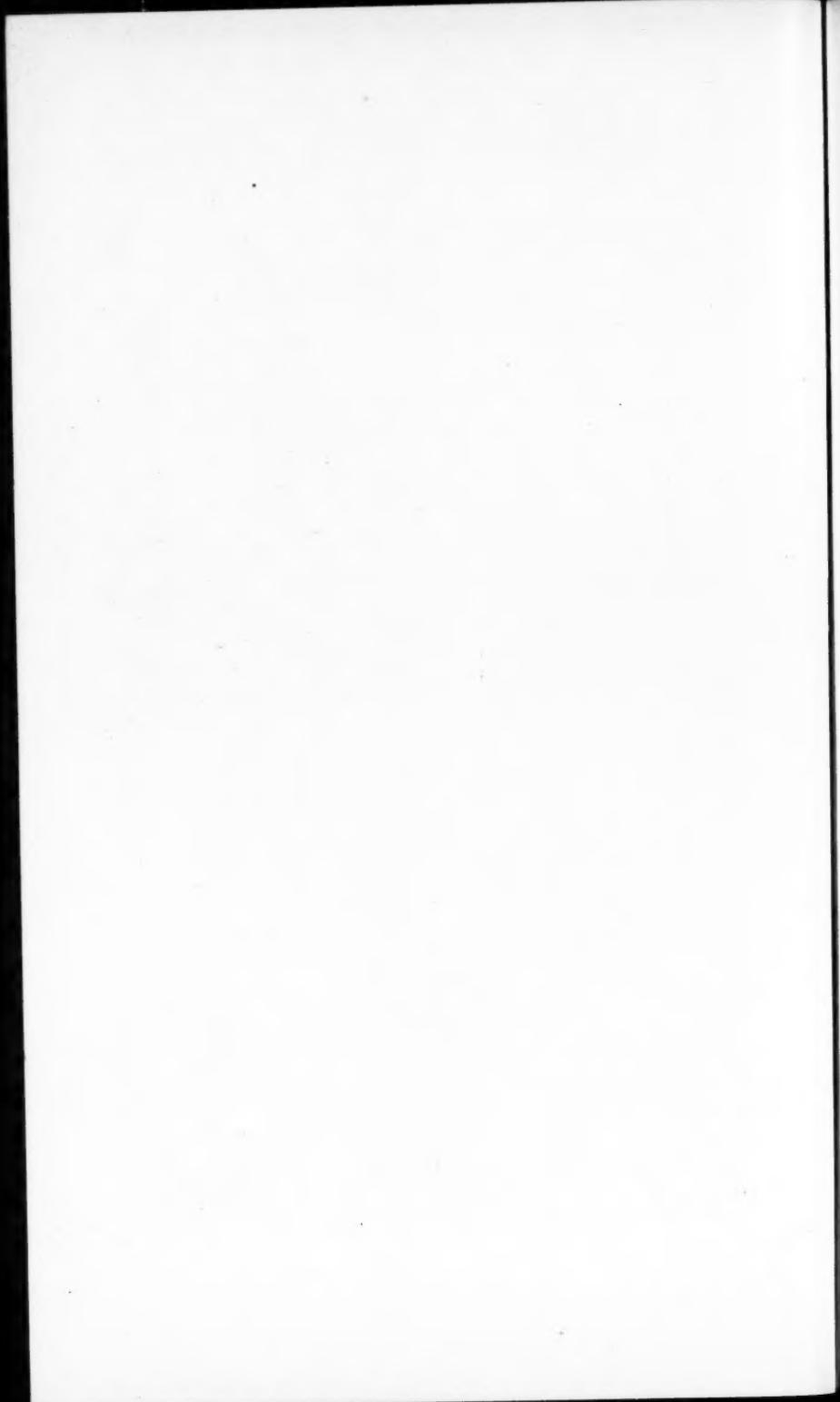
Several skeletons resting on a bed of sand.

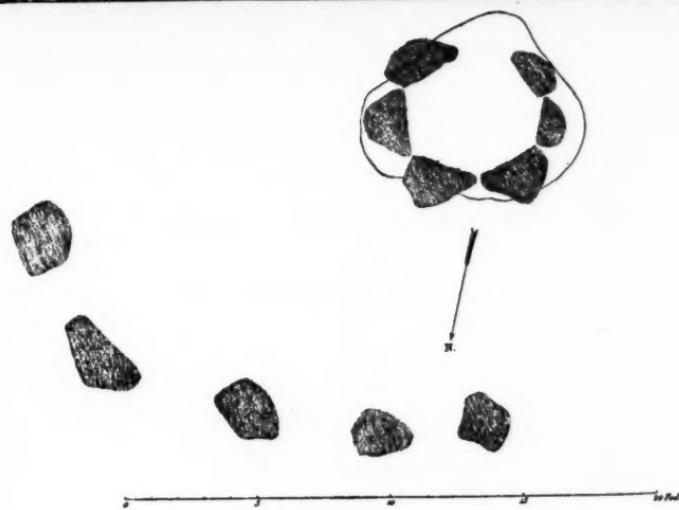
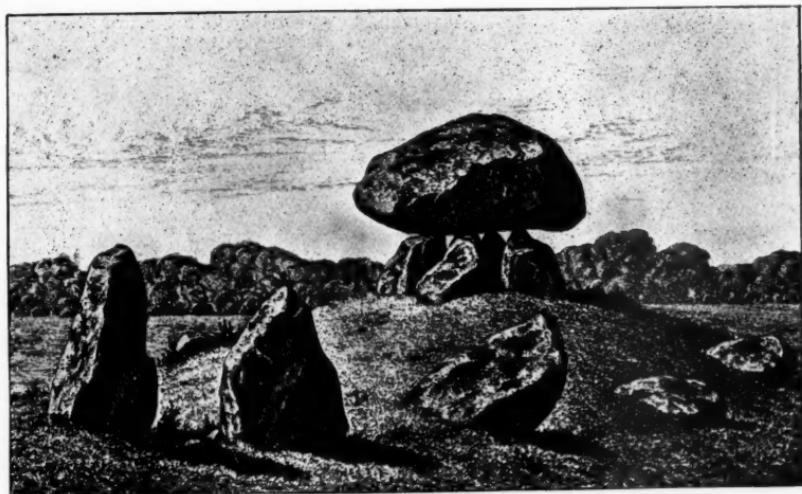
<sup>1</sup> Shown on first plate, facing p. 302.

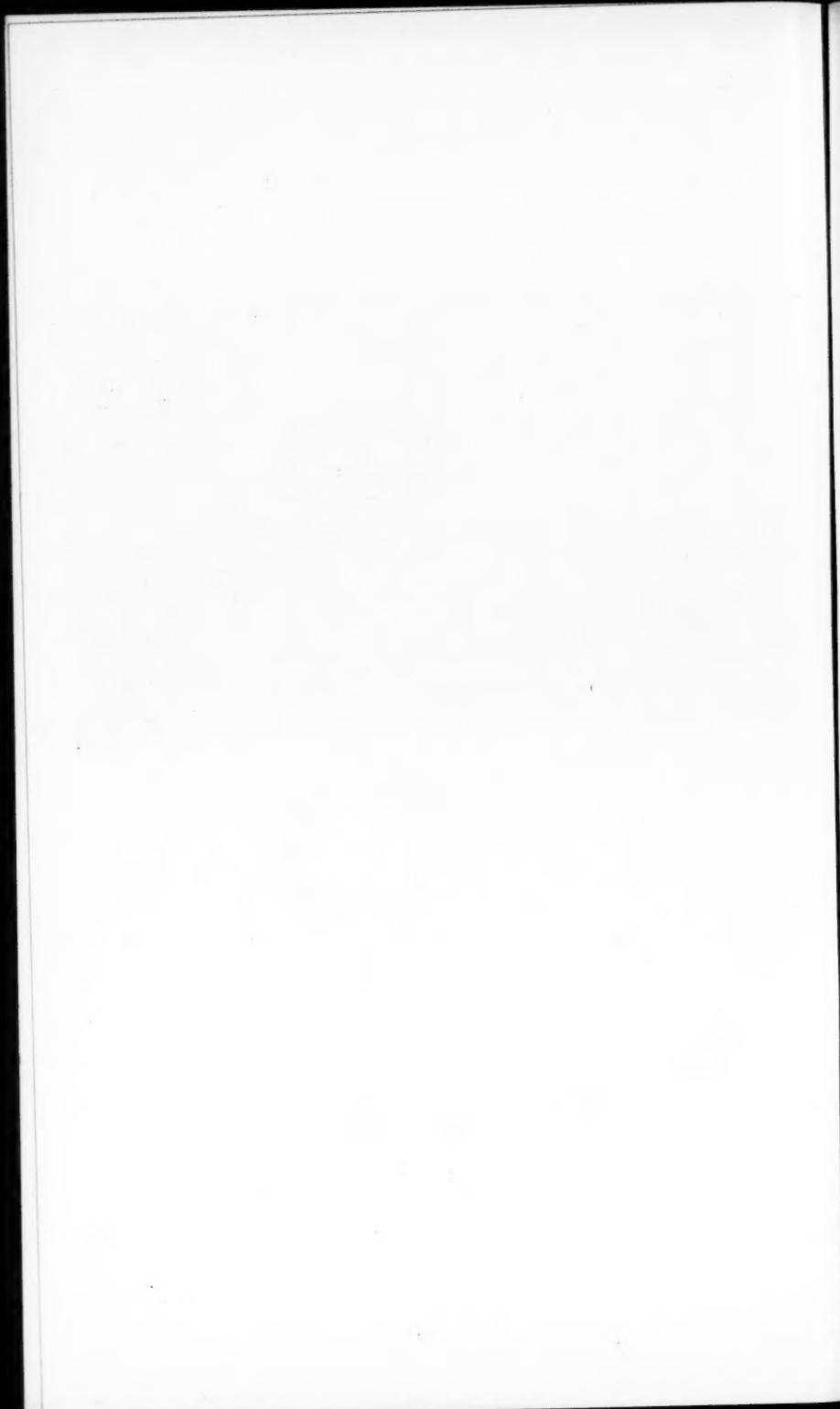
<sup>2</sup> Shown on second plate, facing p. 302.

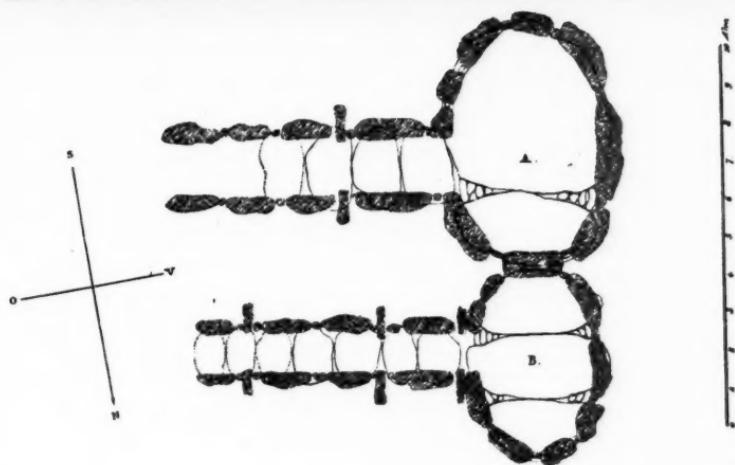
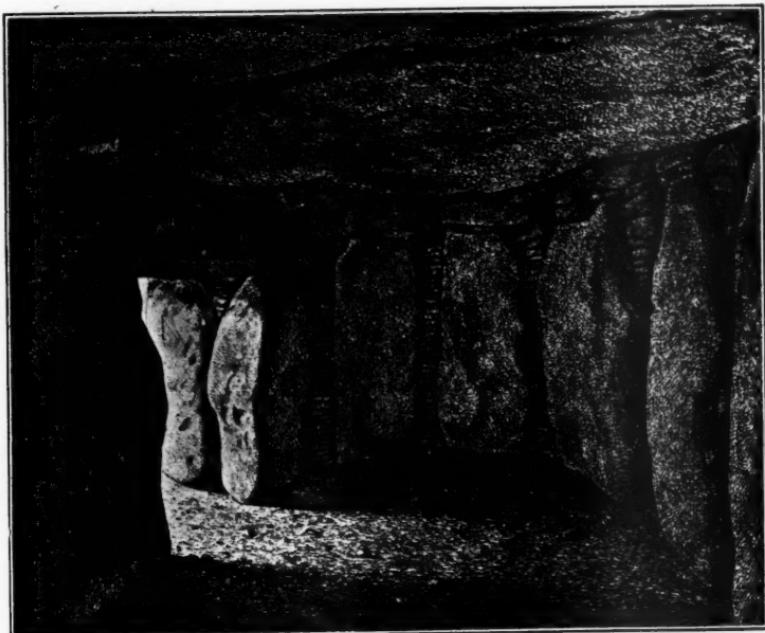


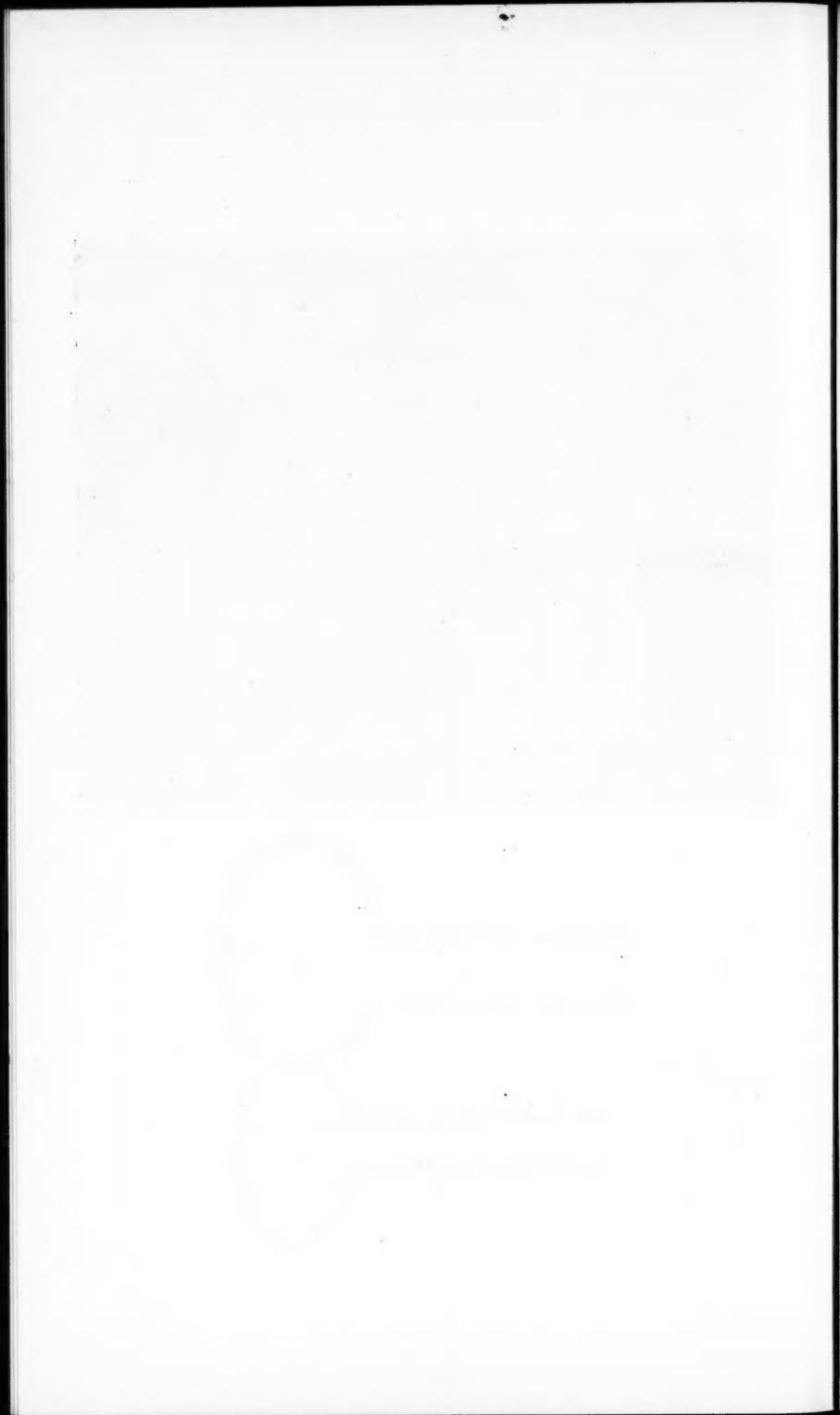
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*Weapons, Tools, and Appliances.*

- Fifteen lance-heads of flint.
- Two arrow-heads of flint.
- Two crescent-shaped knives of flint.
- Fifteen flakes of flint.
- Six wedge-shaped axe-heads of polished stone.
- Six chisels of bone.
- One fragment of chisel of bone.
- Two awls of bone.

*Personal Ornaments.*

- Seventeen beads of amber, several in the shape of diminutive perforated stone hammers.
- One bead of bone.

*Pottery.*

- One perfect urn of earthenware with two handles, and ornamented with a chevron pattern.
- Four urn-covers, with ornament.
- Several fragments of urns.

*Wooden Vessel.*

- Fragments of wooden vessel, with ornament.

(Described and illustrated by Madsen, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 16.)

Other Danish dolmens have been explored with similar results at :

Hammer, Præsto Amt (*Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyn-dighed* for 1862, p. 323).

Hielm, Island of Møen (C. Engelhardt's *Guide Illustrée du Musée des Antiquités du Nord à Copenhague*, p. 6).

Udby, Holbæk Amt (P. du Chaillu's *Viking Age*, vol. i, p. 78).

Gundsølille, Somme Herred, Kjøbenhavns Amt, in Seeland (A. P. Madsen's *Gravhøie*, Pls. 8 to 11).

Egby, Voldborg Herred, Kjøbenhavns Amt in Seeland (Madsen's *Gravhøie*, pls. 12 to 14).

Udby, Holbæk Amt in Seeland (Madsen's *Gravhøie*, pl. 18).

Aar, Holbæk Amt in Seeland (Madsen's *Gravhöie*, pls. 19 to 21).

Bidstrup, Hakkebjerg Herred, Sorø Amt in Seeland (Madsen's *Gravhöie*, pls. 26 to 28).

Hjelm in the Island of Møen (Madsen's *Gravhöie*, pls. 34 to 36).

Bogø, Møenbo Herred, Præsto Amt in Seeland (Madsen's *Gravhöie*, pl. 31).

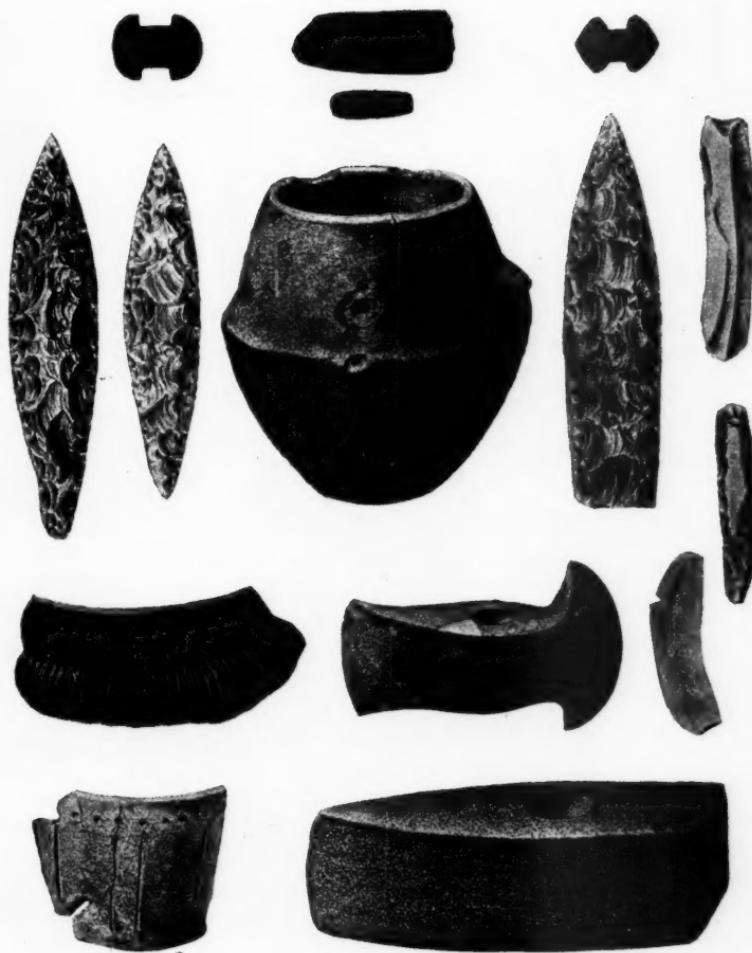
Stensbygaard in the Island of Bornholm (Madsen's *Gravhöie*, pls. 33 and 34).

Flintinge Skov in Laaland (Madsen's *Gravhöie*, pls. 35 to 37).

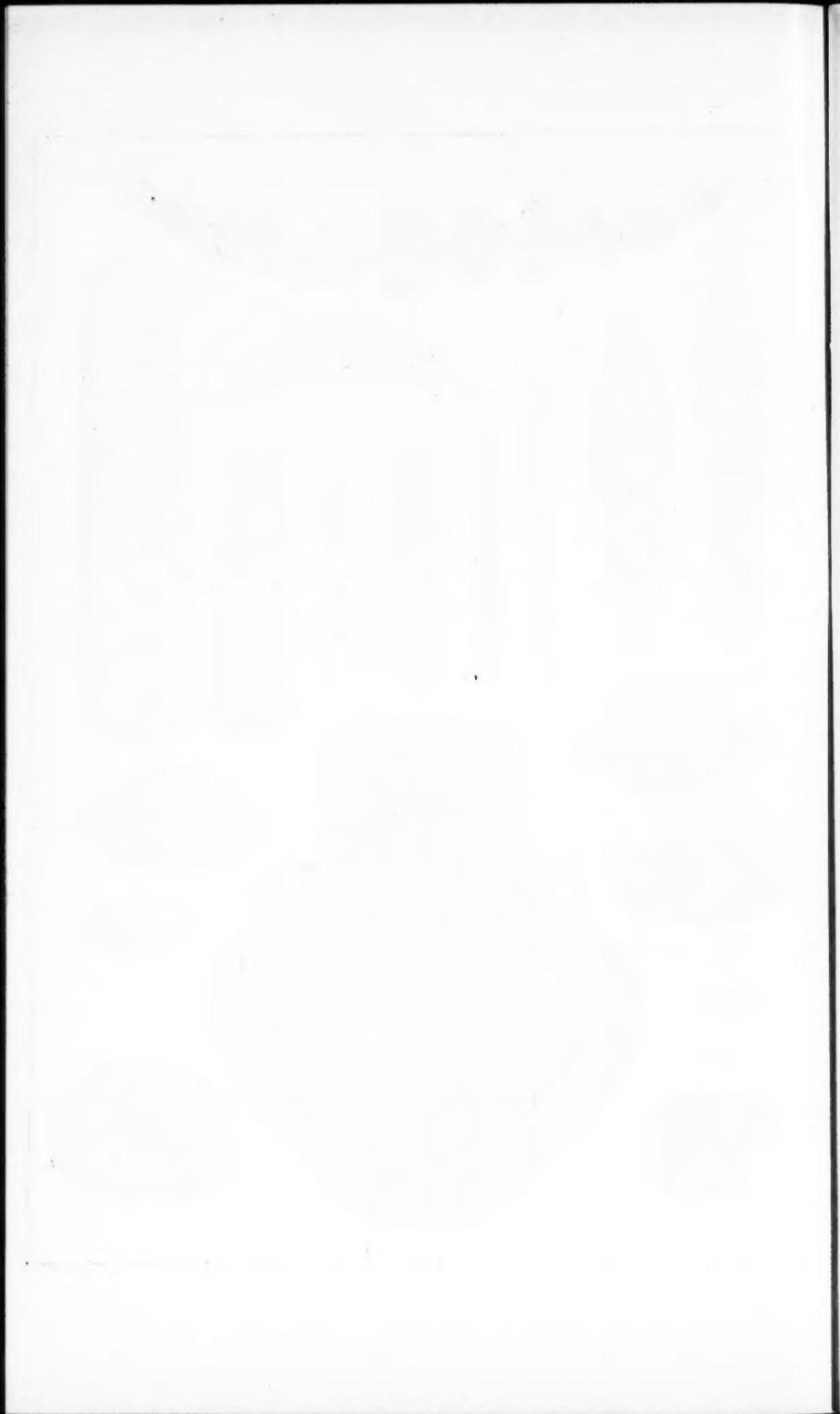
#### FRANCE.

A glance at the maps given in the *Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule*, and A. Bertrand's *La Gaule avant les Gaulois* (p. 128), shows that the part of France where the dolmens and tumuli-dolmens are most numerous extends in a wide belt across the country, from the mouth of the Rhone in a north-westerly direction as far as Brittany. The Departments which contain the larger proportion of them are Finistère, Côtes du Nord, Morbihan, Vendée, Dordogne, Lot, Aveyron, Herault, Lozere, and Ardèche ; and they are entirely absent in the departments of Landes, Gers, Haute Garonne, Pas de Calais, Nord, Ardennes, Meuse, Meurthe et Moselle, Vosges, Allier, Sâone et Loire, Jura, Doubs, Rhone, Ain, Isere, Drome, Vaucluse, and Basses Alpes.

Descriptions and illustrations of the French dolmens will be found in the *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan*, the *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes du Nord*, Paul du Chatellier's *Les Epoques préhistoriques et Gauloises dans le Finistère*, Gaston de la Chênelière's *Inventaire des monuments megalithiques du département des Côtes du Nord*, W. C. Lukis' *Guide to the Chambered Barrows of South Brittany*, Bradshaw's *Handbook to Brittany*, F. Gaillard's *Guide et Itinéraire*, Dr. A. Fouquet's *Guide des Touristes et*



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*Archéologues dans le Morbihan*; and the Report of the Brittany Meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1889, written by J. Romilly Allen, and published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th Ser., vol. vii.

The megalithic sepulchral monuments of the later Stone Age in France may be divided into the following classes :—

(1) *The Dolmen* (strictly so-called), consisting of a sepulchral chamber and an entrance passage, all roofed over with horizontal lintel stones, and covered by a mound of earth or stones. This is by far the most common type of monument.

(2) *The Allée Couverte*, constructed in the same way as the dolmen; but instead of there being both a chamber and an entrance passage the two are merged in one, so that the whole monument consists of one long passage, which forms the sepulchral chamber. The *allée couverte* was probably originally covered by a mound. The best-known examples are at Bagnieux, near Saumur, and at Esse, near Rennes.

(3) *The Hypogée, or Crypt*, in which the sepulchral chamber consists of a long passage (as in the case of the *allée couverte*), beneath the level of the ground, but with no exterior mound or other indication of its existence. This type is found chiefly in the Departments of Seine-et-Oise and Seine-et-Marne, one of the best-known examples being the Hypogée de la Justice in the commune of Presles.

(4) *The Tumulus-Dolmen, or Megalithic Kist*, a sepulchral chamber constructed of large stones, like the true dolmen, but without an entrance passage. This is a transitional form between the true dolmen and the Bronze Age sepulchral kist. Good examples occur at Mont St. Michel, near Carnac, and Mané-er-Hroeg, near Locmariaker, in Brittany.

The following French dolmens have yielded specially complete sets of grave-goods.

*The Butte de Tumiac Tumulus-Dolmen* (near Arzon, at the mouth of the Auray river, Morbihan). This tumulus was opened by Dr. Fouquet and M. L. Galles in 1853, and the relics found in the sepulchral chamber are now in the Vannes Museum.

## CONTENTS.

*Human Remains.*

Part of a skull and fragments of unburnt bones.

*Weapons, Tools, and Appliances.*

Fifteen axe-heads of polished tremolite.

Fifteen axe-heads of polished jade, the greater number of which had been purposely broken, and three with holes perforated for suspension.

*Personal Ornaments.*

Three necklaces of jasper, agate, calais, and rock crystal.

*Miscellaneous.*

Portions of decayed wood, possibly the fragments of a box in which the grave-goods were placed.

(Described and illustrated in the *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan*; also a paper entitled "Fouille de Tumulus du Tumiac en Arzon," published separately by the Imprimerie Galles at Vannes, 2nd edition 1878.)

*The Mont St. Michel Tumulus-Dolmen* (at Carnac, near Auray, Morbihan). This tumulus was opened by M. René Galles in 1862, and the relics found in the sepulchral chamber are now in the Vannes Museum.

## CONTENTS.

*Human Remains.*

Fragments of burnt and unburnt bones.

*Weapons, Tools, and Appliances.*

Eleven axe-heads of polished jade, two pierced near the pointed end with a hole for suspension, and one of these purposely broken.

Two large axe-heads of polished stone, both purposely broken.

Twenty-six very small axe-heads of polished fibrolite.

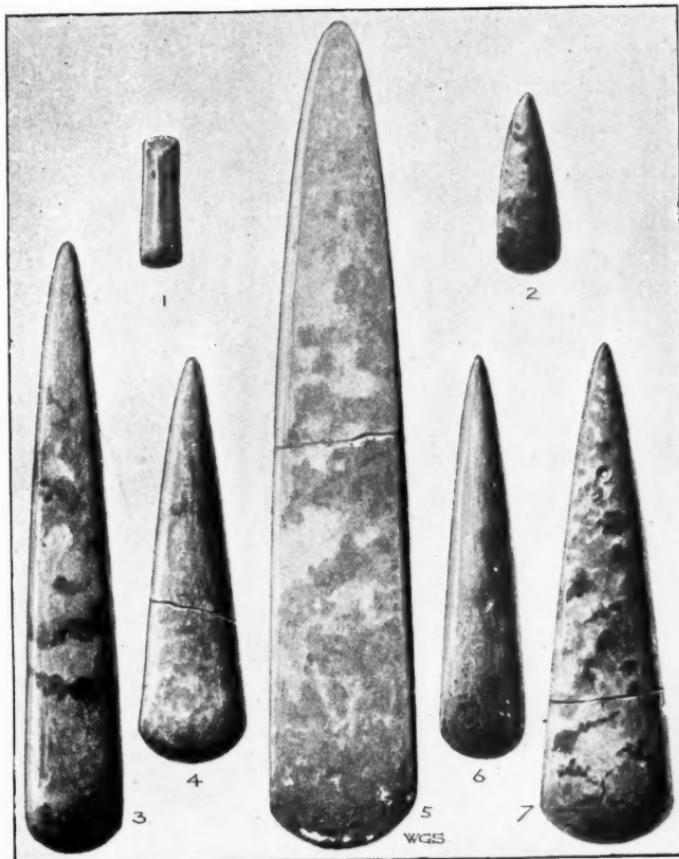
Three flakes of flint.

*Personal Ornaments.*

Necklace consisting of 101 beads and 9 pendants of jasper.

Necklace consisting of 39 bone beads.

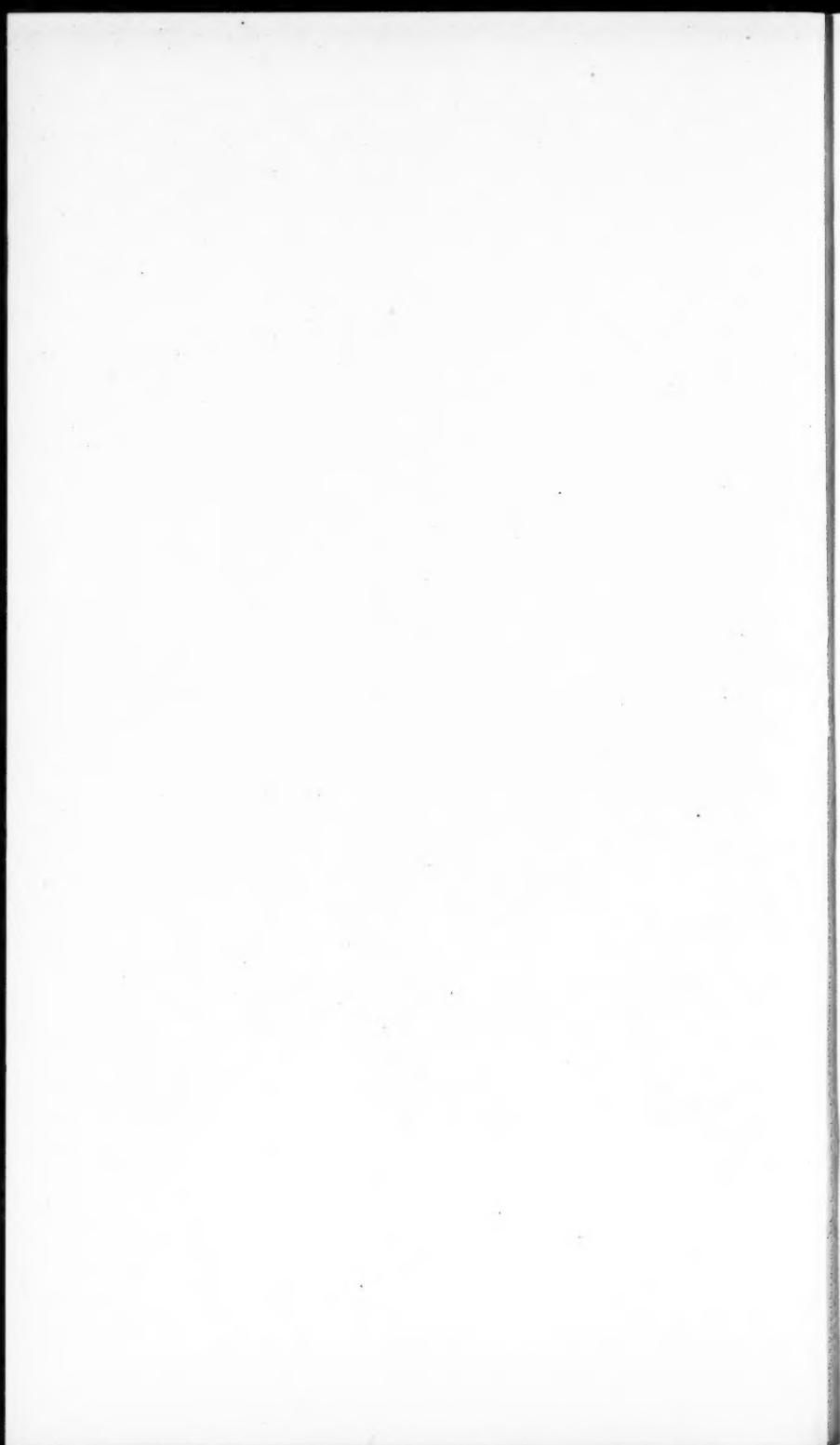
(Described and illustrated in the *Bulletin de la*



Stone Axe-heads,  
from the Tumulus of Tumiac.

Scale,  $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.



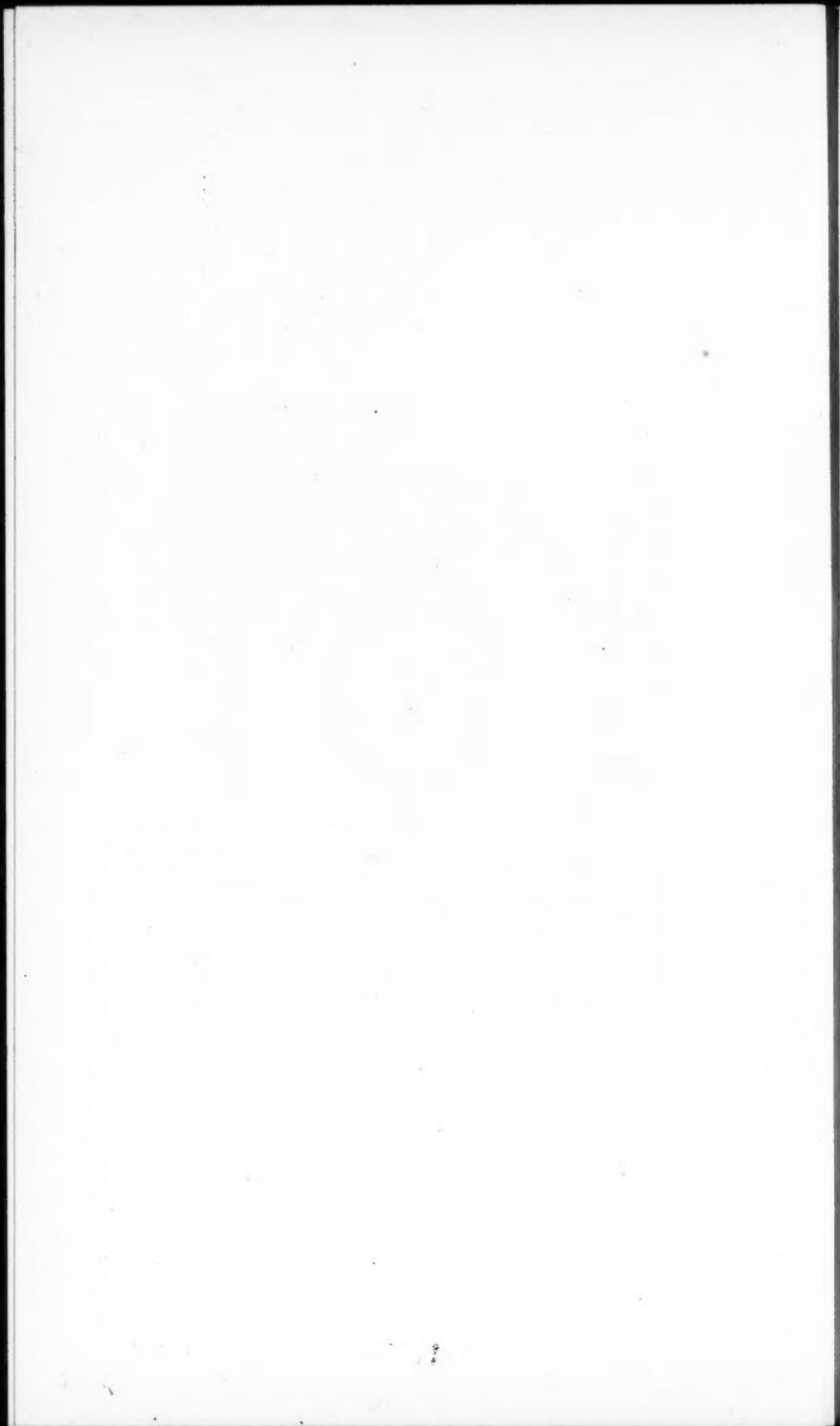


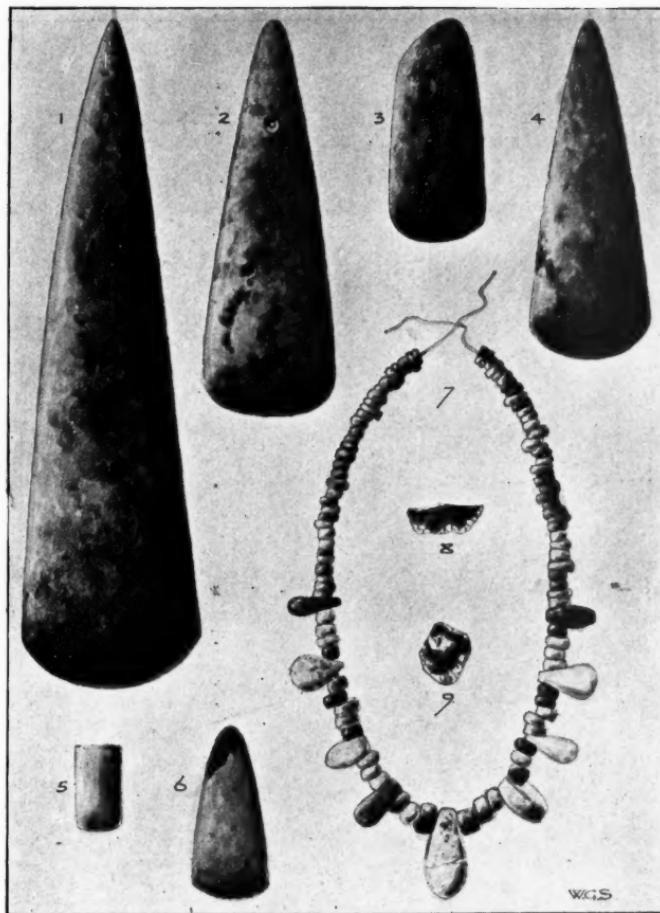


Stone Necklaces,  
from the Tumulus of Tumiac.

Scale,  $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.

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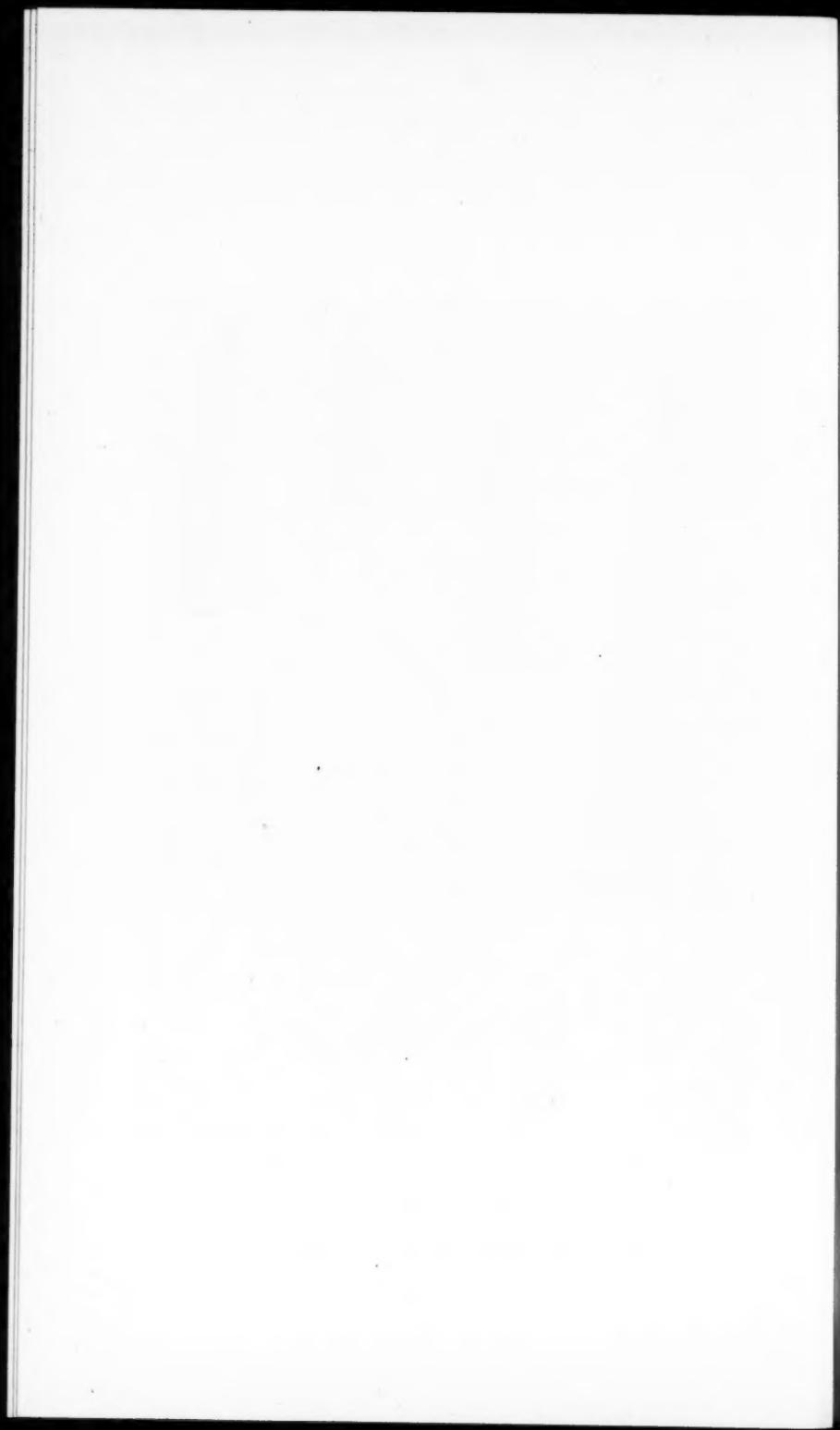


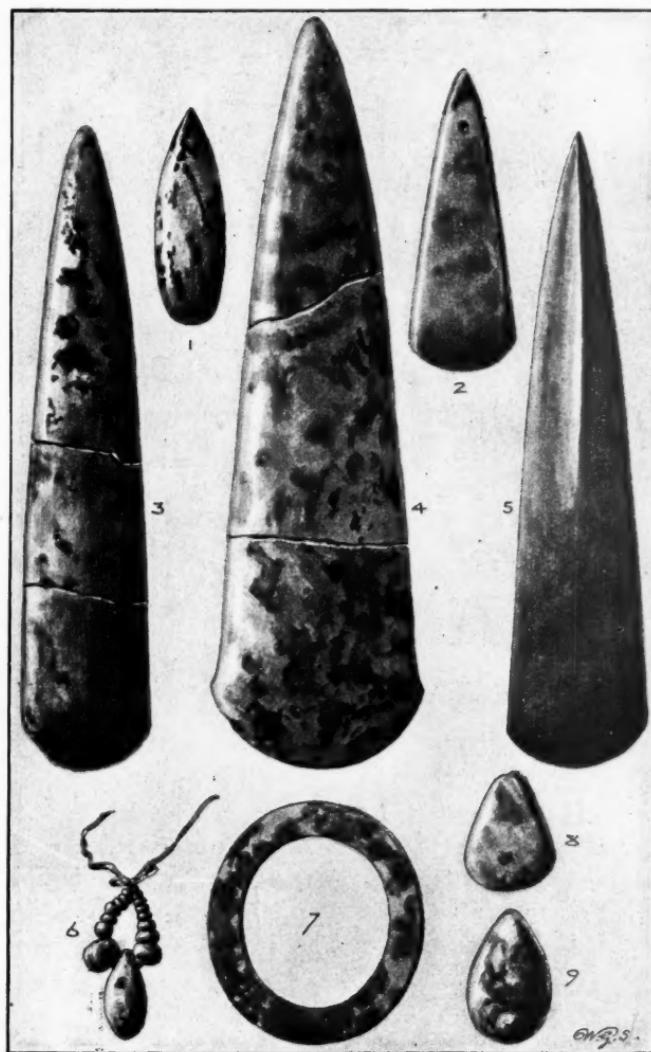


Stone Axe-heads and Necklace,  
from the Tumulus of Mont Saint Michel.

Scale,  $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.



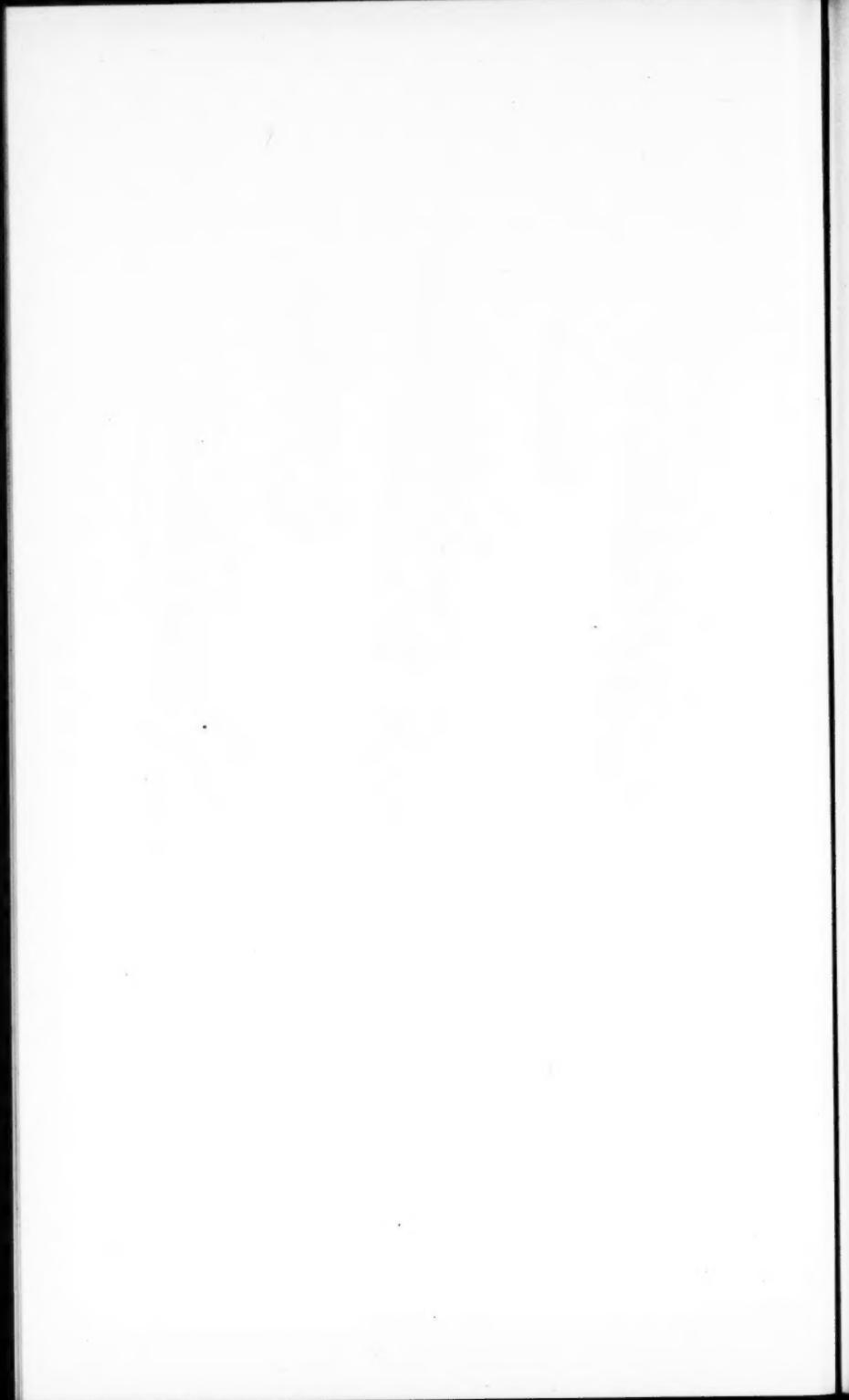




Stone Axe-heads, Ring, and Necklace,  
from the Tumulus of Mané-er-H'roek.

Scale,  $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.

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*Société Polymathique du Morbihan* for 1862; and *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. x, p. 47; and 5th Ser., vol. vii, p. 69.)

*The Manné-er-H'roëk Tumulus-Dolmen* (at Locmariaker, near Auray, Morbihan). This tumulus was opened in 1862 by M. René Galles, and the relics derived from the sepulchral chamber are now in the Vannes Museum.

#### CONTENTS.

##### *Human Remains.*

No trace found.

##### *Weapons, Tools, and Appliances.*

Thirteen axe-heads of jade, several purposely broken, and one pierced near the pointed end for suspension.

Ninety-two axe-heads of tremolite.

One fragment of an axe-head of tremolite.

Three flint flakes.

##### *Personal Ornaments.*

One circular ring of jade.

Nine pendants of green jasper.

Forty-four small beads of jasper, quartz, and agate.

##### *Pottery.*

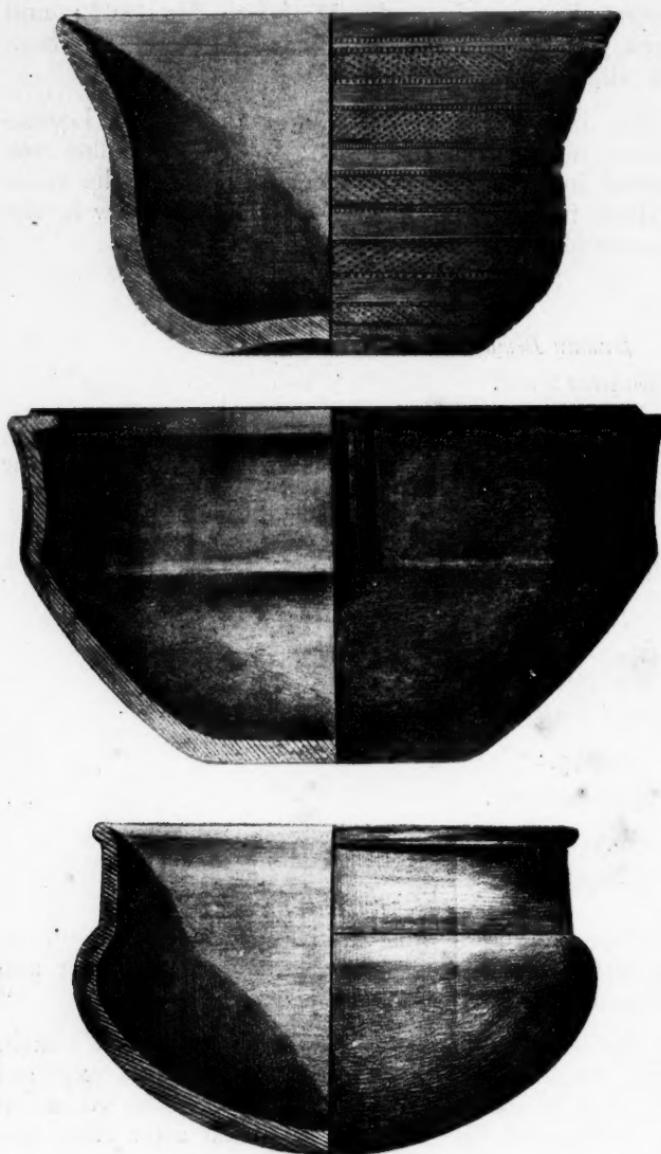
Fragments only.

##### *Miscellaneous.*

Quantities of charcoal.

(Described and illustrated in the *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan* for 1863; and *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol vii., p. 56.)

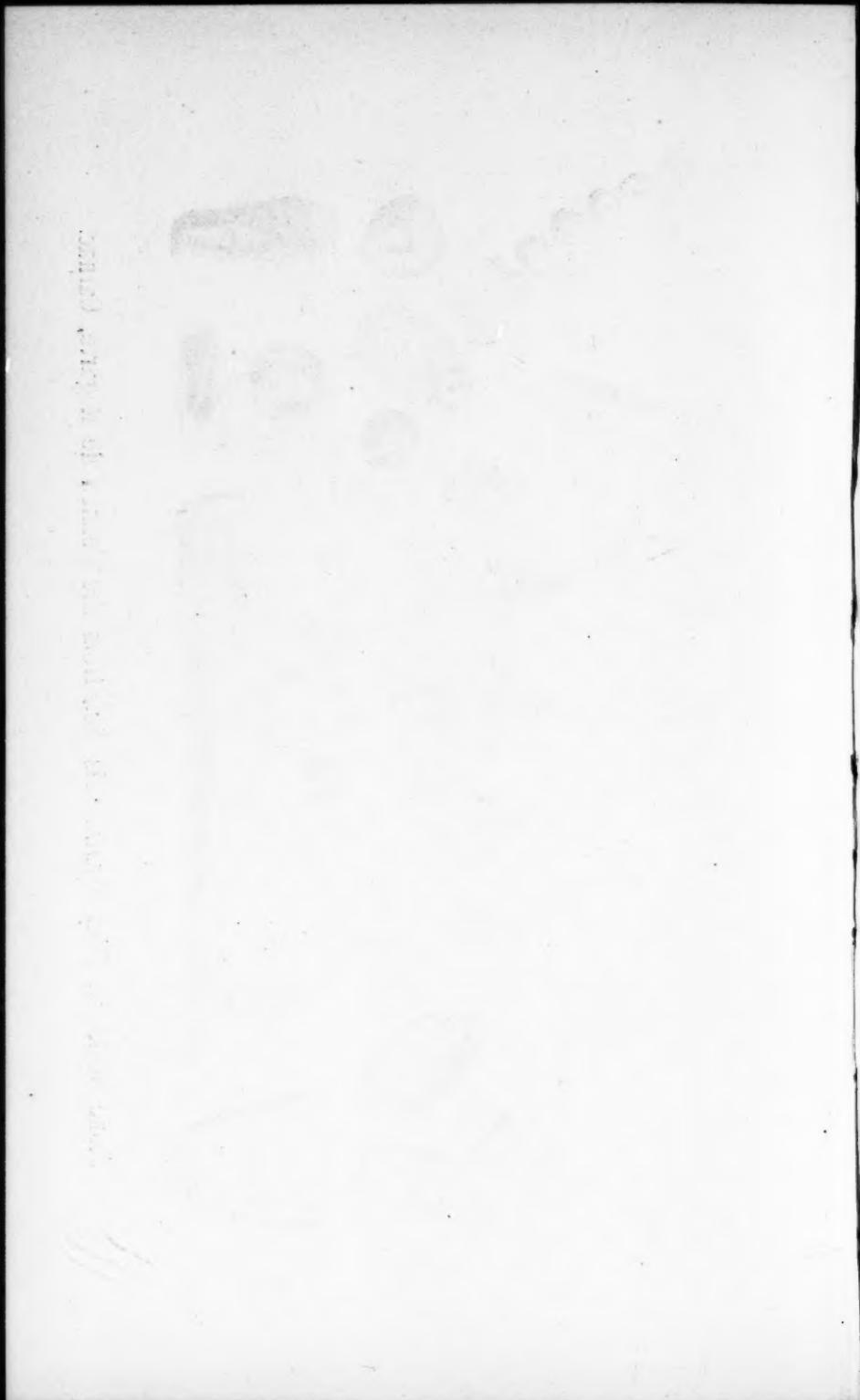
*The Rogarte Dolmen* (between Carnac and Crach, near Auray, Morbihan). This dolmen was explored in 1883 by Mons. Félix Gaillard, in whose collection at Plouharnel the relics were placed after their discovery.

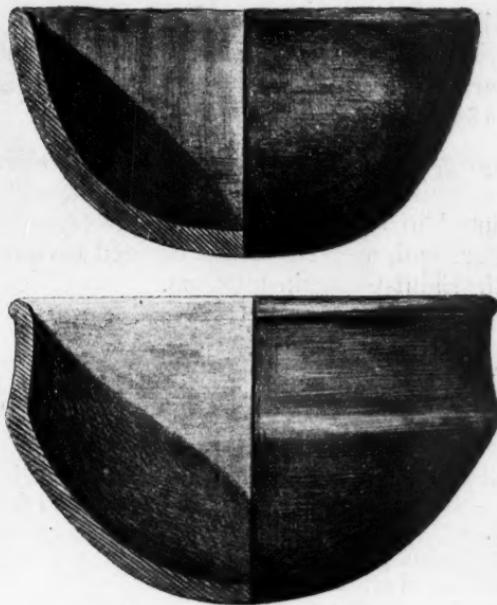


Pottery from Rogarte Dolmen.



Stone Necklace, Flint Arrow-heads, &c, from the Dolmen de Rogarte, Carnac.





Pottery from Rogarte Dolmen.

## CONTENTS.

*Human Remains.**Weapons, Tools, and Appliances.*

- One axe-head of talc.
- Seven barbed arrow-heads of flint.
- One triangular arrow-head of flint.
- Six flakes and scrapers of flint.
- One awl or borer of rock crystal.
- One square spindle-whorl (?) or dress-fastener (?) of baked clay.

*Personal Ornaments.*

A necklace, consisting of five beads of talc, one of granite, four of green serpentine, seven of quartz, three of rock crystal, and two of calais; with three pendants of quartz, fibrolite, and talc, one being in the shape of a miniature axe-head.

*Pottery.*

Several bowl-shaped urus, one ornamented with horizontal bands of dotted pattern, alternating with plain bands.

(Described and illustrated in F. Gaillard's *Report to the "Société Polymathique du Morbihan,"* published as a separate pamphlet by the Imprimerie Galles at Vannes, 1884).

*The Hypogée de la Justice* (commune of Presles, Seine-et-Oise). This crypt, or subterranean passage-grave, was explored in 1867 by MM. de Quatrefages, Brunet, and A. Bertrand, and the relics derived therefrom are now in the Saint-Germain museum.

#### CONTENTS.

##### *Human Remains.*

Several bones and six or seven dolichocephalic skulls.

##### *Weapons, Tools, and Appliances.*

One polished stone axe-head, mounted in its deer's-horn haft.  
One axe-head of polished jadeite, with part of its deer's-horn haft.

One axe-head of polished flint.

Two leaf-shaped arrow-heads of flint.

One large knife of flint.

Two piercers of bone.

Two perforated hammer-heads of deer's horn.

##### *Personal Ornaments.*

Four beads of rose-coloured quartz.

Twenty beads of bone.

Two miniature axe-heads of fibrolite, with holes for suspension.

One pendant of schist, with two holes for suspension.

One pendant made out of a boar's tusk, pierced for suspension.

One pendant of tortoise-shell.

##### *Pottery.*

Fragments only.

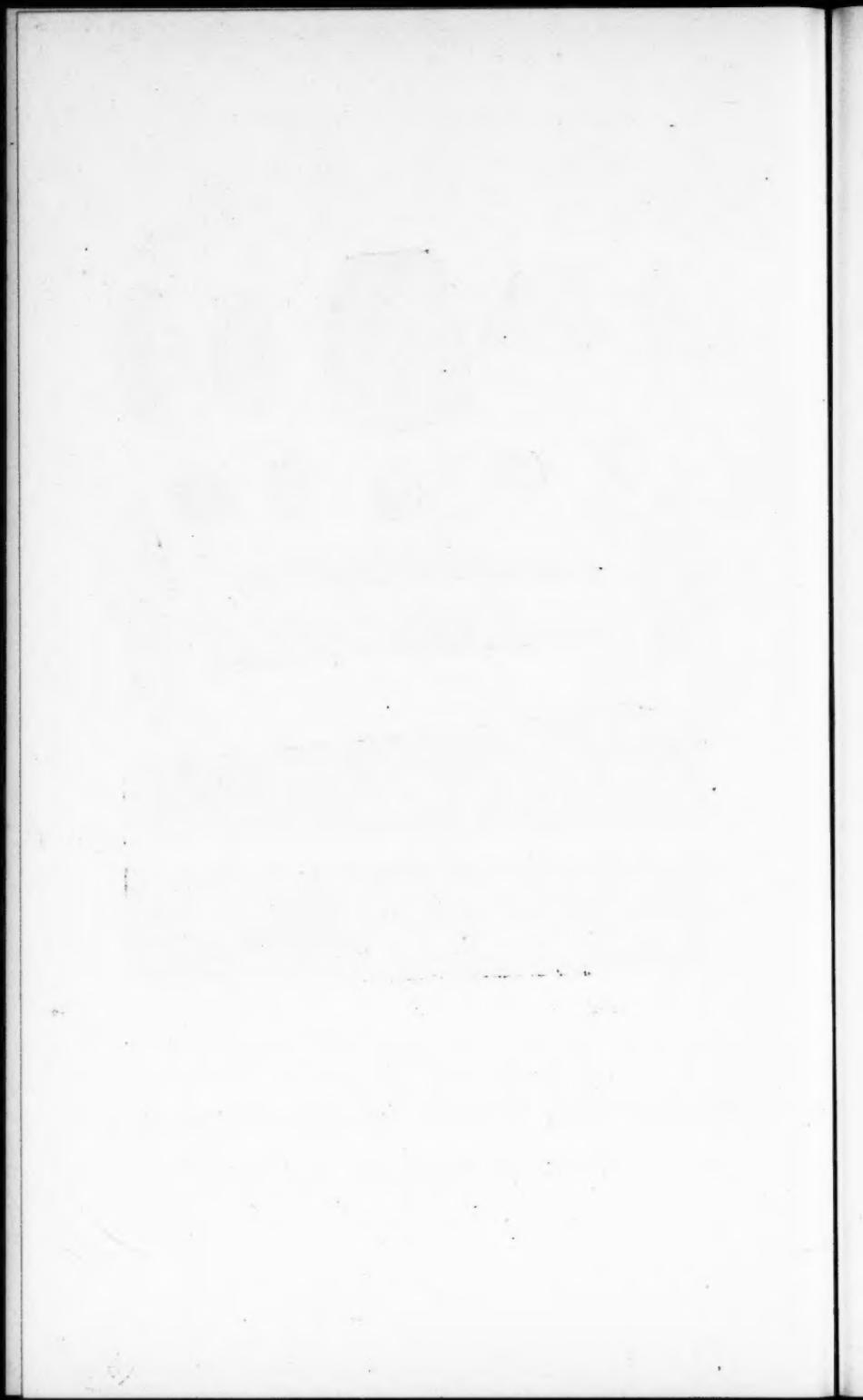
(Described and illustrated by Louis Leguay in the *Revue Archéologique*, for May, 1867, p. 364, and pls. 8 to 11; and in the *Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule*).

Other French dolmens have been explored with similar results at the following places:—

In the Morbihan, near Plouharnel, Carnac, Locmariaquer, and



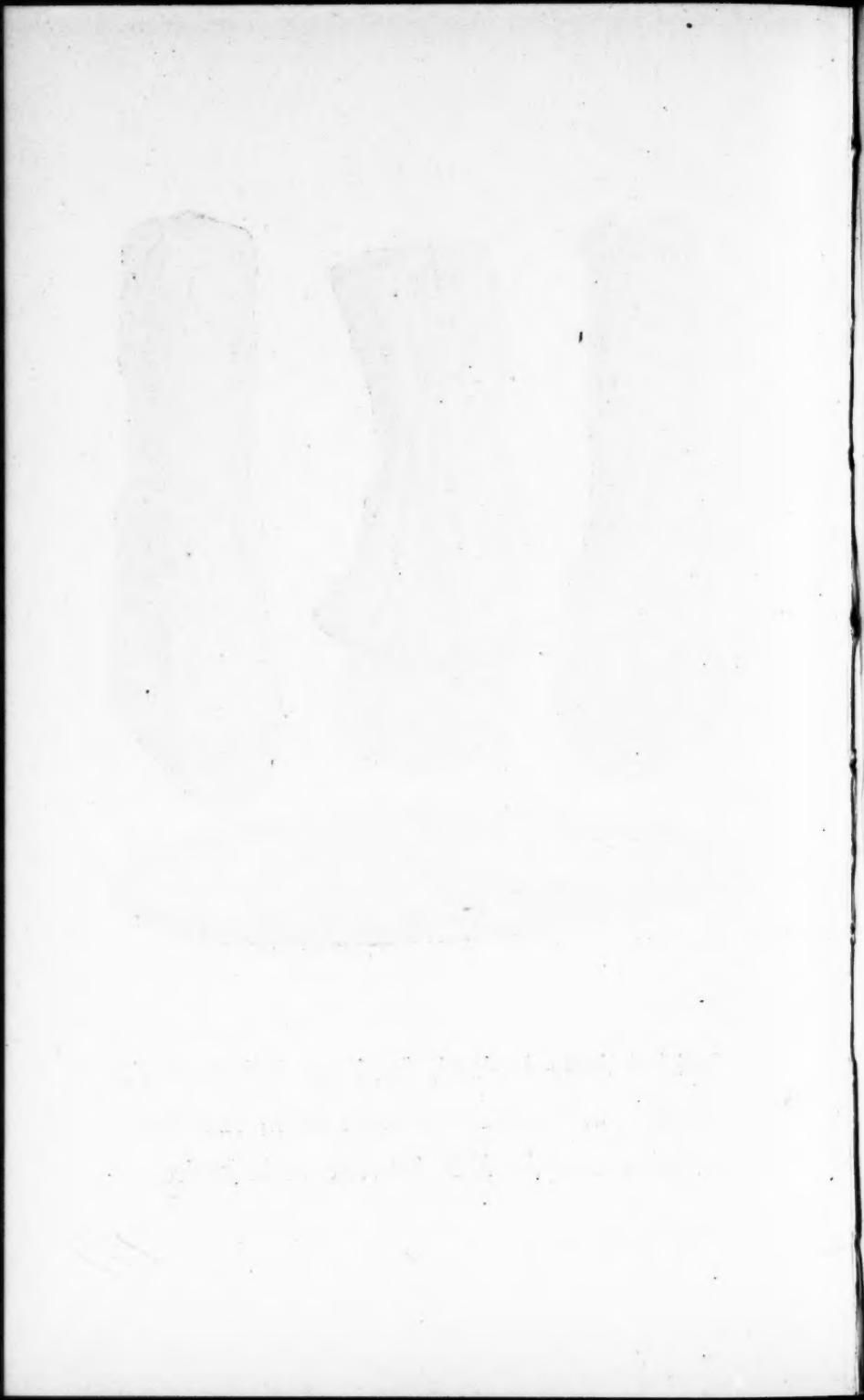
Allée Couverte de la Justice, Canton de Presles (Oise),  
and some of the objects found in it.





Polished Stone Axe-head, fitted into Haft of Deer's Horn; Two Hammers of Deer's Horn; and Flint Knife; from the Allée Couverte de la Justice.





Arzon, described in W. C. Lukis's *Guide to the Chambered Barrows of South Brittany* :—

Kernoz (explored in 1844); Mané Lud (explored in 1864); Dol-ar-Marchand (explored in 1811); Moustoir (explored in 1865); Kerlescant (explored in 1868); Kercado (explored in 1863); Kergavat (explored in 1866); Ker-roh; Runesto (explored in 1866); Grottes de Grionee (explored in 1866); Keriaval (explored in 1866); Kluderier (explored in 1866); Grottes de Roche Guyon (explored in 1849); Mané Remor (explored in 1866); Le Roche Breder (explored in 1866); Petit Mont (explored in 1865).

The contents of these dolmens, which were explored chiefly by M. René Galles and Mr. W. C. Lukis, but in a few instances by strangers, are now in the Vannes Museum and the British Museum.

In the Morbihan described in M. F. Gaillard's *Guide et Itinéraire* (Tours, Imprimerie Paul Bousres, 3rd edition, 1889) :—

Port Blanc (explored in 1883); Erfouseu (explored in 1883); Beker Noz (explored in 1883); Mané-Remor (explored in 1883); Mané-Bras (explored in 1883); Griguen (explored in 1884); Kergouaren (explored in 1884); Beg-en-Hâvre (explored in 1884); Pendrec (explored in 1884); Mané-Hyr (explored in 1885); Kergouret (explored in 1886); Kervilon (explored in 1886); Kerdaniel (explored in 1886); Mané-Kelvezin (explored in 1886); Lann-Poudeque (explored in 1886); Kéran (explored in 1886); Tenat-Bras (explored in 1886); Mané du Lizo (explored in 1886); Ile de Houat (explored in 1887); Er Mar (explored in 1887); Mané-Lys (explored in 1887); Kermarker (explored in 1887); Kergalad (explored in 1887); Kergo (explored in 1888); Roch'-Parc-Nehué (explored in 1888).

The contents of these dolmens were in M. F. Gaillard's museum at Plouharnel. The positions of the dolmens are shown on the map in his *Guide et Itinéraire* and on Edmond Bassac's *Carte Hydrographique et Archéologique du Golfe du Morbihan* (Paris, Imprimerie Monrocq).

A large number of dolmens near Quimper have been explored by M. Paul du Chatellier, and the objects obtained from them are in his private museum at the Château de Kernuz (see his works on *Les Époques*

*préhistoriques et Gauloises dans le Finistère and La Poterie aux Époques préhistorique et Gauloise en Armorique.* Many other dolmens in the Loire-Inférieure have been explored by M. P. de Lisle.

An extremely interesting account of the contents of a Neolithic sepulchral crypt, of the same character as Allée Couverte de la Justice already described, will be found in Émile Bouillon's *La Sepulture dolménique de Mareuil-les-Meaux (Seine et Marne)*, published in Paris, 67, Rue Richelieu, 1892. In it was found a polished stone axe-head mounted in a deer's-horn haft, together with seventy-three other objects of stone, bone, and shell.

Fine examples of dolmen pottery similar to that found in the Morbihan and Finistère are illustrated in Émile Cartailhac's *La France préhistorique*, p. 262.

The results of the exploration of the dolmen at Grailhe (Gard) are given in the *Compte rendu* of the "Congrès international d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie préhistoriques," held at Copenhagen in 1869.

#### SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The dolmens of Spain and Portugal and their contents are described and illustrated in Émile Cartailhac's *Les Âges préhistoriques de l'Espagne et Portugal*. The Auta de Freixo dolmen (see p. 169 of this work) yielded several triangular flint arrow-heads.

NOTES ON THE OLDER CHURCHES  
IN THE  
FOUR WELSH DIOCESES.

BY THE LATE SIR STEPHEN R. GLYNNE, BART.

(*Continued from p. 188.*)

LLANARMON (ST. GERMAN).

June 20th, 1861.

THE church, rather large for this part of the country, consists of two equal aisles or bodies—no unfrequent arrangement in North Wales—and is wholly of plain Perpendicular character. There is neither steeple nor porch, only a bell-cot over the west end, for one bell, in an open arch. There is a break in the arcade marking the division of the chancel, but none in the roof, and the chancel portion is about equal in length to the nave. There are two wide flat arches in each, of late date, upon octagonal columns and clustered octagonal shafts, attached to the pier which forms the break, whence spring the arches. The two east windows are of three lights, that ending the southern aisle the best, the other having a transom. The other windows are very poor, of two and three lights, but many have been mutilated. The roof is of the open Welsh kind, with quatrefoil piercing in the timbers, all very rude. The condition of the church is miserable: the walls and floor damp, and the windows with broken glass.

LLANDUDWEN IN LLEYN (ST. TUDWEN).

May 28th, 1873.

This small church is obscurely situated and not easily found, and, withal but a mean structure of the local

type. It has a nave with north and south transepts set on at the east, and no regular chancel. The walls are very low, and there is only one window in the nave, which is debased, on the south side. The transepts have square-headed windows of three lights, debased and unfoliated. The roof is of open timbers. Over the west end is a bell-cot for one bell, in an open arch.

### LLANEUGAN (ST. EINION, FRENHIN).

July 31st, 1852.

A large church, comprising a nave and chancel, each with south aisle, a west tower and south porch, the whole late Perpendicular. There is no architectural distinction between the nave and chancel, but there are fine screens, with lofts extending across both the chancel and south aisle, which forms the remarkable feature in this church. The arcade of the nave is of four Tudor-shaped arches, the piers moulded with capitals. In the chancel there are two coarse arches of dissimilar character—one Pointed and wide, one obtuse and narrow, and both without mouldings, with plain pier, having no capital. The windows are mostly square-headed and of three lights, that at the east of the south aisle Pointed. The roofs are Welsh, with the usual quatrefoils. The screens are very elegant, and panelled; that to the chancel has two vine-leaf cornices. The screen to the south aisle has the loft remaining, with panelling below it, and the same cornices. The roof of the chancel is inferior to that of the nave; there are some stalls in the chancel with poppy-heads; in the east wall is a stone bracket; over the sacrarium the roof is, as usual, boarded and panneled; the tower arch is Pointed and continuous; the tower is embattled, and has small pinnacles; the belfry windows are of two lights; there is no west door; the west window partially built up; the staircase partially displaces the south belfry window. The porch is large, but without parvise; the outer door of

Tudor form, with octagonal shafts ; the inner has continuous mouldings. The font is octagonal and small, with quatrefoils and roses, late and poor. The church is pewed, and, on the whole, neat.

### LLANFAIR FECHAN (ST. MARY).

August 21st, 1847.

A very rude cruciform church, with large transepts clumsily put together, and no arches at the crossing. At the west end, a Welsh bell-gable. In the north transept is one narrow slit for a window, with internal splay, and on the east side of the southern transept one somewhat similar. There is a trace of a lychoscope on the south-west of the chancel, set obliquely, and near it appear to have been steps. The east window is square-headed, Third Pointed, of three lights. There are upright wooden posts of rude character forming the divisions of the transepts ; the benches are open, but modern. The windows beyond those mentioned are bad modern insertions. The font has an octagonal bowl alternately panelled with quatrefoils, bearing the date 1665, and inscribed "*ex dono Grifini Rectoris,*" 1848. Llanfair Fechan Church is condemned to be pulled down and rebuilt. The new church consecrated, October 11th, 1849.

### LLANFAIR ISGAER (ST. MARY).

August 20th, 1855.

This church has a remarkable site, away from houses, on an eminence close to the Menai. It consists of a nave and chancel undivided, with an open belfry over the west end. The chancel is clearly developed. There are no windows on the north, and the few that are on the south are closed by shutters. The east window of ordinary character.

LLANFIHANGEL, BACHELLAETH-IN-LLEYN  
(ST. MICHAEL).

May 28th, 1873.

It is uncertain whether any part of this church is original, but there are indications that the substructure of the walls may be so. There is, however, no architectural character in the church, except the old font, which has an octagonal bowl diminishing downwards, but much mutilated. The church is a plain oblong, with raised walls and modern Gothic windows; in a dreary situation, but in decent order.

LLANGELYNIN (BY CONWAY) ST. CELYNNIN.

1862.

This, the original parish church, is now forsaken and dilapidated, on account of its very remote and insulated situation; a new church having been built in a more populous part of the parish. The site of the old church is peculiarly lonely and inaccessible; on an elevated spot amongst the hills, out of sight of all habitations. It is of the Welsh type, of no very uncommon form; a nave and chancel all in one space, with a large transverse chapel clumsily added on to the north of the chancel, and ranging very nearly with its east end. There is a south porch, and over the west end a small bell-gable for one bell. The walls are low. The porch has a wood gable and stone benches; near the door is a stoup. There is no chancel arch, but the base of the rood-screen remains; the roof is of rude timber, and barnlike, but in the eastern part of cradle form and ribbed. The east window is Perpendicular, of plain character, square-headed, and labelled of three lights. In the east wall internally is some puzzling work, consisting of unfinished panelling, with trefoiled arches of no very different character from the window, yet looking as if an original design had been interrupted and supplanted. The transeptal chapel opens by no

arch, but merely has rude posts of wood supporting a horizontal beam: its floor is raised, and it appears to have been used for burials; its east window is a sort of lancet, but of doubtful age. There are no windows whatever on the north side. The font has a plain octagonal bowl, upon a short, rude stem. Nothing can exceed the wretchedness of this church; externally, the roof is much out of repair, and the slates kept on chiefly by large stones placed upon them: within, the arrangement was always miserable, with a small, confined sacrarium and altar, flanked by pulpit and reading-pew. The pews are rotting. One south window is of three lights, unfoliated, merely with a mullion, square-headed.

#### LLANGIAN.

July 30th, 1852.

This church has been in great measure rebuilt, and has a completely modern appearance. The windows are quasi-lancets, inserted; and a west door has been added in the same style. The form is the common one, without aisles. The original Welsh roof seems to have been untouched.

#### LLANGWNADL (ST. GWYNODL).

September 4th, 1855.

This church, though small, is remarkable for having the triple division, *i.e.*, a body with north and south aisles, very unusual in North Wales. There is, however, no distinction of chancel, and the church being very short, and wide at the same time, has the appearance of being almost square. The whole is Perpendicular. The arcades are each of three arches, wide and low, and of Tudor form; the piers are octagonal, those on the south having capitals, but not those on the north. There are three east windows, of three lights, and rather ordinary Perpendicular tracery. The other windows also are late; some square-headed, some Pointed. The church is in good condition, and very neat within, having

been repaired and restored in 1850. The seats are all open, and there is a new pulpit and desk. The belfry is also new, over the west gable, containing one bell. The font has an octagonal bowl with sculpture on the sides, representing heads.

### LLANGYBI (St. CYBI).

January 20, 1861.

This church has only a nave and chancel, undivided, having a plain bell-gable over the west end. All the windows have been mutilated except the eastern one, Perpendicular, and of three lights; the others, square-headed and labelled. The roof is open in the nave, but boarded over the sacrarium. There is a rude recess in the north wall of the chancel. The font has a plain octagonal bowl, set on a square. The site is pretty, but there is no one feature of interest.

### LLANIESTYN (St. JESTYN).

September 4th, 1855.

This church has an undivided body with south aisle, and open belfry over the west end. The aisle does not extend quite to the west end, but is divided from the body by five Tudor arches, of low proportions, springing from very low octagonal piers with capitals. The whole is of late date. The windows are all modernised. The font has an octagonal bowl, with rather coarse tracery and figures.

### LLANLLYFNI (St. RHEDYW).

July 16, 1850.

A rude cruciform church of the Welsh type, with awkward transepts, set very close to the east end; a south porch and a small open belfry at the west end. The roof of the nave and transepts is of the Welsh open kind, with rude foliations. That of the chancel is boarded, having a roughish cornice. There are no arches to the

transepts or chancel, but upright shafts of wood. The east window and one in the south transept are Third Pointed, of three lights, merely trifoliated. Others are square-headed, some foliated and some not. Between the nave and chancel is a modern loft, occupying the place of the ancient rood-loft, and on each side of it a rude stone pier, both of which are perforated. That on the north has an oblong recess and niche. There are also the original rude stone steps. The fittings are extremely rude and homely, and some plain open seats. The altar is set at right-angles with the wall, within a ludicrously small sacrarium, enclosed by rails, and not in the centre of it. The font is a plain octagonal bowl. Set against the north wall, near the door, and not far from it, is what seems to have been a benatura. The north and south doors are Pointed.

#### LLANNOR (HOLY CROSS).

September 18th, 1849.

A long narrow church without aisles, but having the chapel tacked on to the south of the chancel. At the west end is a slender tower of saddle-back form, the gables being graduated rudely. It has no buttresses, and the belfry window is a plain oblong slit. The roof is open, and a good Welsh specimen. There is only one north window and that is near the east end, and the aisle itself is a modern one. Those on the south of the nave are also very poor, but the east window is a tolerable First Pointed triplet, without mouldings. The south chapel opens to the chancel by a very plain low arch, with continuous orders. This chapel is large and projects like a transept; has a west door, and square-headed debased windows without foils. There are some open seats and some pews.

#### LLANRHYCHWYN.

July 1st, 1856.

This small church is on a very secluded site, and is approached through the woods which clothe the steep

side of the hill behind Gwydir and Trefriw. There is, near to it, a good view of Carnedd Llewelyn and other mountains. It consists of two short equal bodies, and has a bell-niche over the west end. The division between the two bodies is formed by four rude square stone pillars, supporting a horizontal entablature or cornice, without arches. The walls are thick and rude. The altar occupies the end of the southern aisle; the east window is square-headed, of two lights, and contains some stained glass. The other east window is modernised. Some other windows are modern, others square-headed, of one and two lights, one without foils. The font is a plain cylindrical bowl on a step. The pulpit bears the date 1691. The seats are open and new. There is a lych-gate to the churchyard.

#### LLANRUG.

June 25th, 1858.

A quasi-cruciform church without aisles, having the little Welsh bell-cot and north porch.

#### LLANWNDA (ST. Gwyndav).

A small, rude, cruciform church, with a turret containing two bells. The transepts have square-headed Perpendicular windows, one of good character, with label and corbel heads. There is a large excrescence on the north side, used as a school, and a rude wooden porch. The east window has three other lancets, but it is not clear whether they are original. There are rude pointed arches opening from the nave to the transepts, but no division of chancel. Above the east end of the chancel the roof is boarded. The interior is very gloomy, and the fittings of the rudest kind. Near one of the doors is an octagonal benatura. There is a bracket for a niche in the north transept, and a rude niche on the south of the altar. The font is a rude octagonal mass. The north transept contains monuments to the Bulkeleys. Rebuilt entirely.

## PENMACHNO (ST. TYDDUD).

October 3rd, 1850.

This church is in an extremely bad state of dilapidation. The plan is a common one: a nave and chancel, with no architectural distinction, and a large chapel on the south side of the latter. Over the west end, an arched gable for one bell. There are very few windows, and the walls are very low. There is a plain north porch. The east window is Third Pointed, of three lights, simply trefoiled. The chapel opens to the chancel by an ugly misshapen arch springing from imposts. At the east end of this chapel is a plain window without tracery, and a door. The roof is of a common character, and not a bad specimen, the timbers being rudely foliated. Over the sacrairum is the usual boarded, panelled ceiling. The principal feature in the church is the rood-screen, which is a fair Third-Pointed specimen, though much mutilated. Its compartments have tracery in the heads. The font is a rude cylinder, on a square base. In the east window is a little stained glass; and in the jamb of it is an ancient painting on wood, representing a French saint, a friar, and an executioner. Nothing can exceed the rudeness of the open benches; but there are some odd pews: one enclosed with a kind of railing, another having at the angles carved posts with coarsely-executed heads. The altar is, as usual, shoved out of its place by the pulpit and pews. There is an old west gallery, and a very rough pavement. The church-yard is very large.

## PISTYLL.

July 17th, 1850.

A small church, situated in a lonely spot, on an eminence looking over Carnarvon Bay. It has no aisles nor distinction of chancel, but all in one space; and has the usual arched gable, with one bell, at the west end. There are no windows in the north side, except a slit

near the east end. Those on the south are modern Gothic, and the eastern one a bad square one. The only entrance is at the west end. The interior is primitive, the roof open and rude. On the south-east side is a square recess in the wall. The font is curious: cylindrical in form, swelling towards the base, and set on a square. It is sculptured with rude scroll-work, knobs, etc., apparently of an early character. The seats are chiefly open.

#### RHIEW (ST. AELRHYW).

September 7th, 1858.

A small, rude church, of the clumsy quasi-cruciform plan, with small bell-cot. The architectural features are poor. The roof is open; the windows modern and without character, except one narrow slit in the south transept, and there are no arches within, and the walls low; but the situation lofty, and commanding a fine view.

#### TREFRIEW (ST. MARY).

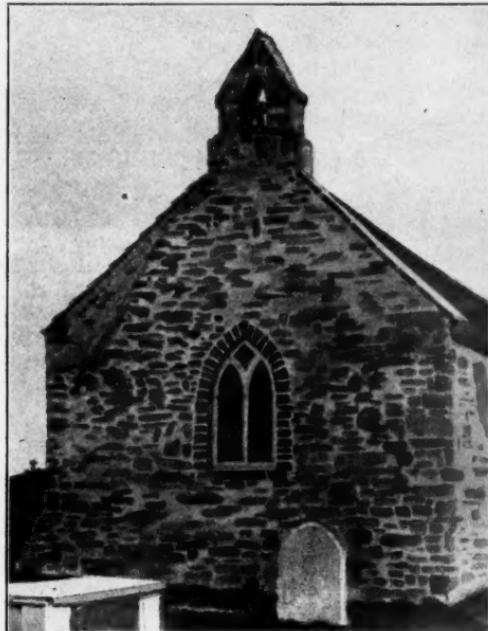
August 21st, 1847.

A small church, consisting of two short and equal aisles, without distinction of chancel, and an ivied belfry over the west end. The interior has a very rough and primitive character; and nothing can exceed the rudeness of the arches, if they can be so called, opening between the aisles. They are very flat and ill-shaped, and between them a solid square pier of masonry. There is a stoup near the south door. The benches all open, and exceedingly plain.

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## Archaeological Notes and Queries.

**APPEAL FOR FUNDS FOR THE REPAIR OF EGLWYS-CUMMIN CHURCH, CARMARTHENSHIRE.**—Eglwys-Cummin is situated in the parish of that name, in a remote part of the county, distant seven miles by hilly road from St. Clear's Station on the Great Western Railway.

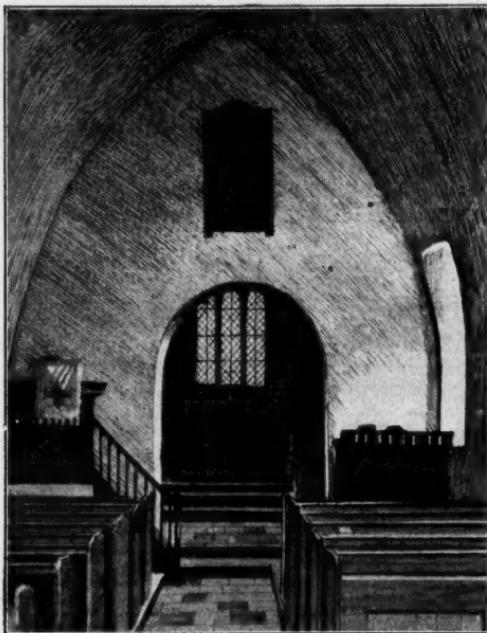


Eglwys-Cummin Church, Carmarthenshire—West End.

The population of the parish is 240, scattered over 3,724 acres of high poor land occupied exclusively by small farmers. The church in situation and construction is of singular interest. It stands in the midst of an old earthwork, or rath, on a high and exposed situation, and in the simple dignity of its stone-vaulted barrel roof of acute pitch, and other structural details, presents, in spite of the rude countryside appearance of the fabric, much ecclesiastical and historical interest. It also possesses an Ogam stone, which is doubly interesting: first, in that having been found some years since in the churchyard, it may be taken as having a very early connection with the church itself; and secondly, in that in the Ogam ren-

dering of the bilingual inscription, the word "inigena" is used in place of the word "filia," appearing in the Latin version, this being the only instance known of the use of this Romano-Celtic word out of Ireland.

The church itself, in common with other early British churches, appears not to have received any dedication until a later date, when it was dedicated to St. Margaret Marloes. The Ogam stone would, however, appear to refer to a still earlier foundation. The inscription on the Ogam stone, the name of Cummin, and certain details



Eglwys-Cummin Church—Interior looking East.

in the construction of the church, suggest the intimate connection which existed between the early Irish and British churches.

On the interior of the north wall of the nave are traces of polychromatic decorative painting, with two inscriptions painted over at successive dates, one of red, the other of black lettering. Means are being taken to preserve all these, as far as possible, from further decay. The church is so devoid of ornamental detail, that it is difficult to fix any date. There is indeed little to guide us, except the rudely-shaped small lancet window at the eastern end of the north wall of the nave, which would appear to be original and probably of the thirteenth century. Possibly, the peculiar thickening

of the north wall of the nave at its west extremity, in which is found a curious and at present unintelligible small square-headed external opening, and also the rude pointed arch of the northern doorway, may point to an earlier date, while the half-underground arch in the south wall to the west of the porch indicates an even earlier church, covered by the present structure. Owing partly to its exposed position, and partly to unskilful attempts at repair, made some thirty years ago, when the present chancel was built, the church is in instant need of careful attention. It has been thoroughly examined by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, from whose valuable and elaborate Report, made by professional architects of the Society, the above remarks have been taken.

Under the advice of the Society, Mr. William Weir, architect, has been appointed to carry out the Society's suggestions, and the work, instead of being given out to a contractor, as is unfortunately too usual, will be carried out under Mr. Weir's immediate and personal superintendence, so as to avoid anything being done inadvertently for the want of constant capable direction. In so ancient a building, it is of course difficult to estimate precisely the extent and consequent expense of the work of repair necessary until the works are actually in progress, but the cost is estimated not to exceed £500. This includes the provision, by means of a screen and wood-work at the west end of the nave, (1) of a much-needed vestry, without interfering with the original plan of the church by attaching a new vestry of masonry; and (2) for the reverent custody of the Ogam stone, which at present is wholly unprotected.

The Bishop of the Diocese writes as follows:—

“I cordially commend this appeal for the funds required for the repair of this exceptionally interesting church, and am glad that all possible care will be taken for the preservation of its historical character. The parish, in which excellent church work is being done, is small and poor, and cannot bear the expense of the skilled repair of the church without outside assistance from the friends of the Church in Wales, and from those interested in the preservation of ancient buildings.”

The Archdeacon of Carmarthen adds:

“The Vicarage,  
Golden Grove, R.S.O., South Wales,  
March 27th, 1900.

“I have much pleasure in supporting the appeal made for funds for the proposed reparation of the ancient and interesting parish church of Eglwys-Cummin; as the population of the parish is small, solely agricultural and comparatively poor, help from outside must be solicited. The object, however, is one that cannot fail to appeal strongly to all who wish to see our ancient sacred buildings preserved, and the fact that the work will be carried out under the direct supervision of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient

Buildings, will be a guarantee to the subscribers that it will be done wisely and thoroughly. (Signed) D. LEWIS,  
Archdeacon of Carmarthen."

This appeal is made not only to those who have the welfare of the church at heart, but to those also who care for the preservation of early British architecture, which, partly owing to neglect and decay, and partly to the common practice of entirely altering our simple buildings under the name of restoration, is gradually disappearing.

HENRY JONES, Rector.

MORRIS JAMES, Churchwarden.

April, 1900.

MORGAN JONES, J.P., Llanmiloe.

Subscriptions will be thankfully received and acknowledged by

The Rev. HENRY JONES,

Eglwys-Cummin Rectory, St. Clear's, South Wales.

EARLY COAL-WORKING IN WALES.—On page 230 of *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1900, Mr. C. Wilkins draws our attention to the beginning of coal-delving in the Merthyr district.

I have a M.S. before me which may be of interest with reference to mining in North Wales. From it we gather that certain English gentlemen, some two hundred years ago, took up their residence and settled in the country as mining adventurers. The M.S. is in the handwriting of the Rev. John Denman, who, according to Archdeacon Thomas, in his *History of the Diocese of S. Asaph*, was Rector of Llandegla 1796 to 1831, and Vicar of Llanarmon yn Ial 1820 to 1831.

The following extracts may be of interest: "My Grandfather, Joseph Denman, was a native of Winster, near Bakewell in Derbyshire, and came into Wales about the end of the sixteenth century, with several others, as a Mine adventurer, and settled at Minera in this County. He married . . . Hughes, Daughter of a respectable gentleman, who lived at Gwern-y-Caseg, near Minera. In those days there were Pikemen (before the Militia were called out) who were paid by the respectable inhabitants of the County, and one man was paid by my Great Grandfather (Hughes of Gwern y Caseg), jointly with one of the family of Puleston of Hafod y Wern, near Wrexham; and my Grand-mother, when a child, used generally to attend her father, when he went to pay the Pikeman. A sister or aunt of my Grand-mothers married the Rev Rowland Owen, Vicar of Wrexham, who after preaching a sermon against Oliver Cromwell's Usurpation, was taken out of the Pulpit, and put in the stocks in the streets of Wrexham. . . . My father, John, married Elizabeth, Daughter of John Thomas of the Old Hall, in the Township of Brynford, and Parish of Holywell."

Sixteenth century, in the above, is evidently a mistake for the seventeenth.

Aelwyd, Bangor.

HAROLD HUGHES.

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Hereford Free Library	Hereford
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Jesus College Library	Oxford
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Jones, Lawrence, Esq., Solicitor	6, Water Street, Liverpool
Joseph-Watkin, T. M., Esq. ( <i>Portcullis</i> )	Herald's College, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
King's Inns' Library	Dublin
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Liverpool Free Public Library	Liverpool (c/o Peter Cowell, Esq.)
Lloyd, Alfred, Esq., F.C.S., F.E.S.	The Dome, Upper Bognor, Sussex
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McClure, Rev. Edmund, M.A.	80, Eccleston Square, S.W.
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Rennes, Bibliothèque Universitaire	Rennes, Marne, France
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CARNARVONSHIRE. (26).

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Turner, Sir Llewelyn	.	Parciau, Carnarvon
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Williams, W. P., Esq.	.	Cae'r Onnen, Bangor

## DENBIGHSHIRE. (31).

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Hughes, J. O., Esq.	Estate Office, Llangedwyn, Oswestry
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Palmer, A. N., Esq.	17, Bersham Road, Wrexham
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Row, Theodore, Esq.	Ruthin
Sandbach, Colonel	Hafodunos, Abergale, R.S.O.
Trevor-Parkins, The Wor. Chancellor	Glasfryn, Gresford, Wrexham
Williams, Thomas, Esq.	Llywesog, Denbigh
Williams, William, Esq.	Ruthin
Wynne, Mrs. F.	Ystrad Cottage, Denbigh
Wynne-Finch, Colonel	Voelas, Bettws-y-coed, R.S.O.

## FLINTSHIRE. (19).

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Mostyn, Right Hon. Lord	Mostyn Hall, Mostyn
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St. Deiniol's Library	Hawarden, Chester
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Felix, Rev. J.	Cilcain Vicarage, Mold
Hughes, Thomas, Esq.	Greenfield, Holywell
Mesham, Colonel	Pontruffydd, Trefnant R.S.O. ( <i>Denbighshire</i> )
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Owen-Jones, Rev. Canon	Bodelwyddan Rectory, Rhuddlan, R.S.O.
Pennant, Philip P., Esq., M.A.	Nantllys, St. Asaph
Poole-Hughes, Rev. J. P.	The Vicarage, Mold
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Williams, Rev. R. O., M.A.	The Vicarage, Holywell

## MERIONETHSHIRE. (11).

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Griffith, Edward, Esq.	Springfield, Dolgelly
Leigh-Taylor, John, Esq.	Penmaen Uchaf, Dolgelly
Oakley, William E., Esq.	Plas Tan-y-bwlch, Tan-y-bwlch, R.S.O.
Vaughan, John, Esq.	Nannau, Dolgelly
Wynn Williams, Ifor O., Esq.	Bronwylfa, Llanderfel ; and 16, Wood- land Road, Walton, Liverpool
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## SOUTH WALES.

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## CARDIGANSHIRE. (18).

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Brough, Professor, LL.D. . . . .	Univ. Coll. of Wales, Aberystwyth
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Williams, Rev. J. A.	Llangathen Vicarage, Golden Grove, R.S.O.

## GLAMORGANSHIRE. (83).

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Llandaff, The Lord Bishop of	Bishop's Court, Llandaff
Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord	Dyffryn, Aberdare
Llewelyn, Sir John Talbot Dilwyn, Bart., M.P., M.A.	Penllergare, Swansea
Lewis, Sir W. T., Bart.	Mardy, Aberdare
Llandaff, Very Rev. the Dean of	Deanery, Llandaff
Allen, W. E. Romilly, Esq.	Trusthorpe, Llandaff
Benthall, Ernest, Esq.	Glantwrch, Ystalyfera, R.S.O.
Blosse, E. F. Lynch, Esq.	Glanavon, Peterston-super-Ely, Cardiff
Cardiff Free Library	Cardiff
Cathedral Library	Llandaff
University College Library	Cardiff
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*Corbett, E. W. M., Esq.	Pwll-y-pant, Cardiff
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Davies, Dr.	Bryn Golwg, Aberdare
Davies, Mrs.	Bryntirion, Merthyr Tydfil
Davies, Rev. H. C., M.A.	St. Hilary Rectory, Cowbridge
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Evans, W. H., Esq.	Llanmaes House, Cowbridge
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Lewis, Arthur, Esq.	Tynnewydd, Llandaff
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Lewis, Rev. David, M.A.	Vicarage, Briton Ferry
Lewis, Lieut.-Col. D. R.	Penydarren House, Merthyr Tydfil
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Morgan, W., Esq.	Pant, Dowlais
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Traherne, L. E., Esq.	Coedriglan Park, Cardiff
Trick, Lieut.-Col. W. D.	Bryn Road, Swansea
Turberville, Colonel	Ewenny Priory, Bridgend
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Vaughan, John, Esq., Solicitor	Merthyr Tydfil
Ward, John, Esq., F.S.A.	Public Museum, Cardiff
Williams, J. Ignatius, Esq., M.A.	Plasynllan, Whitechurch, Cardiff
Wilkins, Charles, Esq., F.G.S.	Springfield, Merthyr Tydfil

## PEMBROKESHIRE. (35).

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Scourfield, Sir Owen H. P., Bart. . . . .	Williamston, Neyland
Allen, Miss Mary . . . . .	c/o C. F. Egerton Allen, Esq., Hill Cottage, Tenby
Allen, Herbert, Esq. . . . .	Keston, Watford, Herts. ; and Norton, Tenby
Bancroft, J. J., Esq., H.M.I.S. . . . .	Somerset House, Tenby
Bowen, Rev. David . . . . .	Hamilton House, Pembroke
Brown, D. Hughes, Esq., Solicitor . . . . .	Pembroke Dock
Cathedral Library . . . . .	St. David's, Pem.
Chidlow, Rev. C., M.A. . . . .	Llawhaden Vicarage, Narberth
De Winton, W. S., Esq. . . . .	4, Palace Yard, Gloucester ; and Haroldston, Haverfordwest
Evans, Miss . . . . .	109, Gibbon Road, Nunhead, S.E. ; and Colby, Slebech
Fenton, Ferrar, Esq. . . . .	345, City Road, London, E.C. ; and Fishguard, Pembrokeshire
Hilbers, Ven. Archdeacon, M.A. . . . .	St. Thomas Rectory, Haverfordwest
James, John, Esq. . . . .	St. Martin's Crescent, Haverfordwest
Jones, Rev. J. E., B.A. . . . .	Amroth Vicarage, Begelly
Lascelles, Arthur, Esq. . . . .	Belmore, Narberth
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As it is not impossible that omissions or errors may exist in the above list, corrections will be thankfully received by the General Secretaries.

The Annual Subscription is *One Guinea*, payable in advance on the first day of the year.

Members wishing to retire must give six months' notice previous to the first day of the following year, at the same time paying all arrears.

All communications with regard to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* should be addressed to the Editor, J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A., 28, Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.

## L A W S

OF THE

## Cambrian Archaeological Association.

ESTABLISHED 1846,

*In order to Examine, Preserve, and Illustrate the Ancient Monuments and  
Remains of the History, Language, Manners, Customs,  
and Arts of Wales and the Marches.*

## CONSTITUTION.

1. The Association shall consist of Subscribing, Corresponding, and Honorary Members, of whom the Honorary Members must not be British subjects.

## ADMISSION.

2. New members may be enrolled by the Chairman of the Committee, or by either of the General Secretaries; but their *election* is not complete until it shall have been confirmed by a General Meeting of the Association.

## GOVERNMENT.

3. The Government of the Association is vested in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Chairman of Committee, the General and Local Secretaries, and not less than twelve, nor more than fifteen, ordinary subscribing members, three of whom shall retire annually according to seniority.

## ELECTION.

4. The Vice-Presidents shall be chosen for life, or as long as they remain members of the Association. The President and all other officers shall be chosen for one year, but shall be re-eligible. The officers and new members of Committee shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting. The Committee shall recommend candidates; but it shall be open to any subscribing member to propose other candidates, and to demand a poll. All officers and members of the Committee shall be chosen from the subscribing members.

## THE CHAIR.

5. At all meetings of the Committee the chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the Chairman of the Committee.

## CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.

6. The Chairman of the Committee shall superintend the business of the Association during the intervals between the Annual Meetings; and he shall have power, with the concurrence of one of the General Secretaries, to authorise proceedings not specially provided for by the laws. A report of his proceedings shall be laid before the Committee for their approval at the Annual General Meeting.

## EDITORIAL SUB-COMMITTEE.

7. There shall be an Editorial Sub-Committee, consisting of at least three members, who shall superintend the publications of the Association, and shall report their proceedings annually to the Committee.

## SUBSCRIPTION.

8. All Subscribing Members shall pay one guinea in advance, on the 1st of January in each year, to the Treasurer or his banker (or to either of the General Secretaries).

## WITHDRAWAL.

9. Members wishing to withdraw from the Association must give six months' notice to one of the General Secretaries, and must pay all arrears of subscriptions.

## PUBLICATIONS.

10. All Subscribing and Honorary Members shall be entitled to receive all the publications of the Association issued after their election (except any special publication issued under its auspices), together with a ticket giving free admission to the Annual Meeting.

## SECRETARIES.

11. The Secretaries shall forward, once a month, all subscriptions received by them to the Treasurer.

## TREASURER.

12. The accounts of the Treasurer shall be made up annually, to December 31st; and as soon afterwards as may be convenient, they shall be audited by two subscribing members of the Association, to be appointed at the Annual General Meeting. A balance-sheet of the said accounts, certified by the Auditors, shall be printed and issued to the members.

## BILLS.

13. The funds of the Association shall be deposited in a bank in the name of the Treasurer of the Association for the time being; and all bills due from the Association shall be countersigned by one of the General Secretaries, or by the Chairman of the Committee, before they are paid by the Treasurer.

## COMMITTEE-MEETING.

14. The Committee shall meet at least once a year for the purpose of nominating officers, framing rules for the government of the Association, and transacting any other business that may be brought before it.

## GENERAL MEETING.

15. A General Meeting shall be held annually for the transaction of the business of the Association, of which due notice shall be given to the members by one of the General Secretaries.

## SPECIAL MEETING.

16. The Chairman of the Committee, with the concurrence of one of the General Secretaries, shall have power to call a Special Meeting, of which at least three weeks' notice shall be given to each member by one of the General Secretaries.

## QUORUM.

17. At all meetings of the Committee five shall form a quorum.

## CHAIRMAN.

18. At the Annual Meeting the President, or, in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, or the Chairman of the Committee, shall take the chair; or, in their absence, the Committee may appoint a chairman.

## CASTING VOTE.

19. At all meetings of the Association or its Committee, the Chairman shall have an independent as well as a casting vote.

## REPORT.

20. The Treasurer and other officers shall report their proceedings to the General Committee for approval, and the General Committee shall report to the Annual General Meeting of Subscribing Members.

## TICKETS.

21. At the Annual Meeting, tickets admitting to excursions, exhibitions, and evening meetings, shall be issued to Subscribing and Honorary Members gratuitously, and to corresponding Members at such rates as may be fixed by the officers.

## ANNUAL MEETING.

22. The superintendence of the arrangements for the Annual Meeting shall be under the direction of one of the General Secretaries in conjunction with one of the Local Secretaries of the Association for the district, and a Local Committee to be approved of by such General Secretary.

## LOCAL EXPENSES.

23. All funds subscribed towards the local expenses of an Annual Meeting shall be paid to the joint account of the General Secretary acting for that Meeting and a Local Secretary; and the Association shall not be liable for any expense incurred without the sanction of such General Secretary.

## AUDIT OF LOCAL EXPENSES.

24. The accounts of each Annual Meeting shall be audited by the Chairman of the Local Committee, and the balance of receipts and expenses on each occasion be received, or paid, by the Treasurer of the Association, such audited accounts being sent to him as soon after the meeting as possible.

## ALTERATIONS IN THE RULES.

25. Any Subscribing Member may propose alterations in the Rules of the Association; but such alteration must be notified to one of the General Secretaries at least one month before the Annual Meeting, and he shall lay it before the Committee; and if approved by the Committee, it shall be submitted for confirmation at the next Meeting.

(Signed) C. C. BABINGTON,

August 17th, 1876.

*Chairman of the Committee.*

